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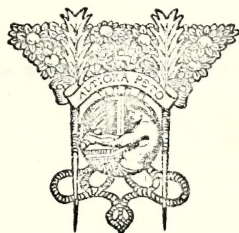


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James Van Rensselaer

AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 2

JANUARY, 1907.

NO. 1

THE VAN RENSSELAER FAMILY.

BY W. W. SPOONER.



F the early Dutch colonial families the Van Rensselaers were the first to acquire a great landed estate in America under the "patroon" system; they were among the first, after the English conquest of New Netherland, to have

their possessions erected into a "manor," antedating the Livingstons and Van Cortlandts in this particular; and they were the last to relinquish their ancient prescriptive rights and to part with their hereditary demesnes under the altered social and political conditions of modern times. So far as an aristocracy, in the strict understanding of the term, may be said to have existed under American institutions—and it is an undoubted historical fact that a quite formal aristocratic society obtained throughout the colonial period and for some time subsequently, especially in New York,—the Van Rensselaers represented alike its highest attained privileges, its most elevated organization, and its most dignified expression. They were, in the first place, nobles in the old country, which cannot be said of any of the other manorial families of New York, although several of these claimed gentle descent. Thus in becoming patroons and later manorial lords in America, the Van Rensselaers but enjoyed an extension in kind (though scarcely in degree) of aristocratic dignities which had already been theirs for generations. Measured by the standard of American antiquity, they take precedence of every other New York family of present consequence, their patroonship having been created in 1631, only eight years after the first per-

manent settlement of the Dutch on Manhattan Island. Their territorial possessions were from the first of grand dimensions—some twenty-four by forty-eight miles,—surpassing many a European principality. And finally their special privileges—by which we identify and recognize a regularly established, as distinguished from a socially improvised, aristocracy—were the highest accorded to any family in America, either under the Dutch regime or the English. The Van Rensselaer domains (or, more correctly, dominions), as originally acquired by the founder of the house with the sanction of the government of Holland, constituted a distinct colony, not subject in any manner to the political control or jurisdiction of the general administration of New Netherland; and indeed their independence was so sharply defined that Governor Stuyvesant, in a dispute with the Van Rensselaer director regarding territorial rights, could find no other recourse than an act of war. When the Dutch patroonship was converted into an English manor, the peculiar privileges of the Van Rensselaers suffered no material abridgment, but in certain respects were given a more pronounced character. The manor, or “lordship,” was formally set aside, by the terms of the English grant, as a separate political entity; and while the powers of its proprietors underwent some modifications, as was inevitable with the change from Dutch to British laws, they were conceded all the very considerable privileges and functions belonging to manor lords in England, such as exclusive police power within their territories, appointment and control of the necessary officials, administration of justice in ordinary causes, and the right of advowson. As a further enlargement of the dignity of the manor, its inhabitants were given the right to elect and send a special deputy to the general assembly of the province; and, as a matter of course, the deputy chosen was invariably either the head of the family or his immediate personal representative. Again, the position of the Van Rensselaer Family as one

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of the foremost in the aristocratic order in America was secured so long as that order should endure by the application of the law of primogeniture, requiring the perpetual transmission of the entire landed estate in the eldest male line; a law which prevented the dispersal of the property among the younger branches, and imposed upon the direct succeeding line an obligation to maintain the family pretensions upon a plane and in a manner befitting the undivided inheritance.

The exceptional position conferred upon the Van Rensselaer Family, and for generations sustained, by virtue of its great proprietary estate, is naturally the most conspicuous fact in its history. The patroonship or manor of Rensselaerswyck, as originally erected, was diminished at various times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by alienations; including a considerable tract ceded to the city of Albany, two other large cessions (the "Coeyman's Tract" and an extensive strip transferred to the state of Massachusetts), and a territory of some sixty thousand acres, constituting the "Lower" or "Claverack" Manor, with other lands vested in the younger branch of the family, as its share, at the time of the settlement of the primogenitureship, in the reign of Queen Anne. Notwithstanding these alienations, the manor was still the greatest hereditary property in the state of New York, and as adjusted on its final territorial basis it continued, without further reduction, until toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Throughout this period of two centuries its character as a strictly private estate remained unchanged; and although the formal privileges of civil authority which belonged to its early proprietors, as well as the principle of primogeniture, were abolished in the Revolution, the ancient features of a single headship and exclusive ownership of the soil on the one hand, and a semi-feudal tenantship on the other, were preserved to the last.

From association with public events of great importance

and dramatic interest between the years 1839 and 1846, the Van Rensselaer name became identified, even more prominently than before, with the history of the state of New York. This is not the place for any examination of the merits of the so-called "Anti-Rent" controversy, nor is any special presentation of the Van Rensselaer side of the dispute required, even in a quite formal and sympathetic sketch of the family. It may be remarked that all the writers on that exciting and notable political episode who rank as authorities have given tolerably proportionate attention to the considerations in favor of the Van Rensselaers, and, on the whole, have dealt with the subject dispassionately.

The Van Rensselaers in Holland

The antiquity of the Van Rensselaer Family in Holland is established by many indutiable evidences. The late Eugene Schuyler, a historical writer of high reputation, during a visit to Holland (1879) made researches concerning the origin of the Van Rensselaers, visiting the principal localities connected with their name. They are traceable, he says, to a manor still called Rensselaer, which is situated about three miles southeast of the village of Nykerk in Guelderland (Holland). "It was originally a *Reddergoed*, the possession of which conferred nobility. The estate is now only a farm, all the old buildings having lately been taken down. They were covered with gables and weather-cocks of the arms and crest of the family. There is scarcely a church in Guelderland that did not have somewhere the Van Rensselear arms on the tombstones, either alone or quartered with others."

In the Orphan Asylum at Nykerk, established in 1638, there is still preserved a large picture, representing the founders and regents of that institution; among whom was the Jonkheer Jan Van Rensselaer. He is attired in the

dress of the Dutch nobility of that day, and above his head are shown the familiar arms of his family.¹

The branch of the Hollandish family from which the progenitor of the American Van Rensselaers sprang has been traced back for four antecedent generations, as follows:

I. *Hendrick Woters Van Rensselaer*, married Swene Van Indyck of Hemegseet. Issue: i. *Johannes Hendrick Van Rensselaer*, married Derykebia Van Luxoel. ii. Giertruy Van Rensselaer, married Advocate Swaaskens. iii. Walter Hendrick Van Rensselaer. iv. Anna Van Rensselaer, married Mr. Bygimp. v. Betye Van Rensselaer, married Mr. Noggen.

II. *Johannes Hendrick Van Rensselaer*, married Derykebia Van Luxoel. Issue: i. *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer*, married Nelle Van Vrenoken. ii. Walter Jans Van Rensselaer.

III. *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer*, married Nelle Van Vrenoken. Issue: i. *Hendrick Van Rensselaer*, married Maria Pasraat. ii. Engeltie Van Rensselaer, married Gerrit William Van Patten. iii. Claas Van Rensselaer, married Jacobina Van Schrassens. iv. Johannes Van Rensselaer, married Sandrina Van Erp, styled Waredenburgh.

IV. *Hendrick Van Rensselaer*, married Maria Pasraat.

I. Armorial bearings of the Van Rensselaers: Gules, a cross moline argent. *Crest*—An iron basket (or cresset); out of which issue flames or, above a closed knight's helmet. *Mottoes*—*Niemand zonder* (No one without it [the cross]), and *Omnibus effulgeo* (I outshine all). De Vermont, in "America Heraldica" (p. 15), gives the crest as "A high basket, from which issue flames; all proper"; but we prefer Mr. Schuyler's description, as he made original investigations in Holland. The Van Rensselaer arms, quartered with the arms of three other families, were emblazoned on one of the stained-glass windows of the old Dutch Church at Albany; underneath them being the following words:

Ian Baptist Van Rensselaer
Directeur Der Colony Rensselaer
Wijck 1656

In early times large iron baskets were placed on castles and at other high points, and fires were kindled in them for purposes of illumination—sometimes in celebration of great events. Hence the Van Rensselaer crest. There is a family tradition that on one of these occasions of extraordinary illumination the Van Rensselaer fires so far outshone all others that the Prince of Orange, in recognition of that circumstance, which corresponded to his estimate of the man, requested the head of the house to substitute for his ancient motto that of *Omnibus effulgeo*—I outshine all.

Issue: i. *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer*, the American patroon, married, 1st, Hillegonda Van Bylaer; 2d, Anna Van Wely, daughter of Johannes and Eleanor (Haeckens) Van Wely. ii. Maria Van Rensselaer, married Rykert Van Twiller.

Hendrick Van Rensselaer, preceding, was a captain in the Dutch army, and was killed at the siege of Ostend, June 9, 1602. His brother Johannes held the same rank and met the same fate (February 7, 1601). There is a monument to their memory in the Protestant Church of Nykerk. It may be added that the Van Rensselaers were long prominent in civil affairs in Holland, members of the family serving as burgomasters, councillors, treasurers, etc., in many towns.

Although, as will be seen below, the family in Holland has long been extinct in the male line, it is still conspicuously represented there in the female descent.

I

KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER, only son of Captain Hendrick and Maria (Pasraat) Van Rensselaer, was born in Holland about 1595. He received a careful education, and, succeeding to the headship of the family, took a position of great prominence and influence. He was engaged in the pearl and diamond trade in Amsterdam, and was one of the wealthiest citizens "at a time when the merchants of Holland, like those of Italy, had become the princes of the land."

Arriving at manhood's estate at probably the most important and critical period of the history of the United Provinces, when the truce with Spain was drawing to its close and when it was soon to be determined whether the war for independence should be resumed, Van Rensselaer was one of the organizers and original directors of the Dutch West India Company, that famous and powerful auxiliary of the government of the Netherlands in the gigantic contest which shortly ensued. The Dutch West

India Company was chartered in July, 1621, with a capital of seven million florins, being granted exclusive authority and trade privileges in the Dutch possessions of the two Americas, as also of the coast of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope. The objects of its creation were, first, to "establish an efficient and aggressive Atlantic maritime power in the struggle with Spain," and second, to colonize, develop, and rule the Dutch American dependencies, of which the splendid country discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609, known as New Netherland and comprehending the present states of New York and New Jersey, was among the most important. Great expectations of commercial and financial advantage being based upon the extensive privileges and imperial powers conceded in the charter, the wealthy merchants of Holland subscribed for the stock with alacrity. The affairs of the company were administered by a directorate known as the "Assembly of the XIX.," from whose members an executive board or college of nine were selected to manage the concerns of New Netherland; and of both these controlling bodies Kiliaen Van Rensselaer was a member.

In the early career of the company he was one of its mainstays, placing several of his vessels at its disposal and twice advancing money to save its credit. His name is conspicuously identified with all its measures of policy, including the original settlement of Manhattan Island, now New York City, in 1623.

As is well known by all students of history, the infant colony of New Netherland languished, the cautious Dutch people having very little inclination to emigrate to wild and uncultivated lands in which no substantial inducements were presented. Within a few years, therefore, it became realized by the company that special measures which would afford a stimulus to colonization were indispensable, and the celebrated plan of "Freedoms and Exemptions" was accordingly devised. Under this plan it was provided that

any member of the company desiring to do so could select lands in the province of New Netherland, and erect them into a patroonship under his exclusive personal proprietorship and governmental authority; the sole conditions being the necessary satisfaction of the natives and the transportation thither, as bona fide settlers, of "fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old, one-fourth to be sent during the first year and the remainder before the expiration of the fourth year." Upon each patroon was conferred the right "to forever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof; as also the chief command and lower jurisdiction, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as a perpetual inheritance."

The act of Freedoms and Exemptions was ratified by the states-general of Holland in June, 1629. Van Rensselaer, who had borne a principal part in procuring its adoption, took prompt and energetic steps toward availing himself of its privileges. He employed as his agent Sebastiaen Jansen Crol, an officer of the company in command at Fort Orange (now Albany), who in a series of purchases from the Indians, beginning in 1630 and continuing until 1637, acquired for him all the land on the west side of the Hudson River from twelve miles south of Albany to Smack's Island, "at the mouth of the Mohawk River, stretching two days' journey into the interior," and also a tract of about the same dimensions on the east side both north and south of Fort Orange, and "far into the wilderness." These purchases comprehended practically the whole of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer, the eastern limits extending for some distance into the state of Massachusetts; and with subsequent acquisitions Schenectady County, nearly all of Columbia County, and a part of Greene County were included, the aggregate area of the Van Rensselaer possessions considerably exceeding seven hundred thousand acres.

Besides the Van Rensselaer domain, known as Rensselaerswyck, two other extensive patroonships, Pavonia and Swaanendael, were organized under the system of Freedoms and Exemptions; but both of these eventually reverted to the ownership of the company, disappearing as private properties.

Rensselaerswyck, on the other hand, was at once placed by its proprietor upon the basis of a fully acquired estate by fulfillment of the condition of settlement. It was duly confirmed to him on the 8th of January, 1631, at a session of the Assembly of the XIX. "holden in Zeeland." That he was controlled by perfect good faith, having in view the colonization of his lands and their development for the benefit of his descendants, there is not the slightest doubt. His expenditures in this connection were very heavy, with no possibility of adequate return during his lifetime. Among the items of his disbursements which have been preserved, is one of a cargo of merchandise valued at 12,870 guilders, which he sent to his colonists in 1643 on his own ship, "The Arms of Rensselaerswyck." On the other hand, no present revenue from the lands could be expected, except the insignificant returns from sales of agricultural produce and timber; the patroons being discouraged from engaging in the fur trade (then the chief source of wealth in New Netherland) by restrictions designed to preserve the company's monopoly.

It was Van Rensselaer's wise and far-seeing policy to settle his colonists in close proximity to one another, instead of distributing them widely. By this plan of concentration of settlement he secured for them the advantages of intercourse, of union for defensive purposes, and of progress to the dignity of a community within a reasonable time. The point chosen was the vicinage of Fort Orange, now Albany. The fort was the first trading-post erected by the Dutch on the Hudson after the discovery, and up to Van Rensselaer's time had existed merely as a station inci-

dental to the fur trade, no attempt whatever being made to colonize the country. Here he "built comfortable houses and ample barns for his tenants; provided them with agricultural implements and livestock; erected saw and grist-mills at convenient places on the larger water-courses, and supplied his store with suitable goods to meet the wants of the colonists." "He maintained a high military and judicial authority, had his own fortresses, planted with his own cannon, manned with his own soldiers, with his own flag waving over them. The courts of his colony were his own courts, where the gravest questions and the highest crimes were cognizable, but with appeals in the more important cases. Justice was administered in his own name. The colonists were his immediate subjects, and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to him."

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, in the organization and administration of his colony, as in its purchase, was represented by trusted agents; and there is no record of his having ever visited it, although there is a tradition that he came over for a brief time in 1637. His representatives were men of ability and reputation, whose names are celebrated in the early history of New Netherland. The first vice-director of Rensselaerswyck (who bore the official title of commissary-general and colonial secretary) was Arendt Van Corlaer (or Curler). The equally distinguished Dr. Adriaen Van der Donck, who was the first lawyer in New Netherland, and who subsequently became patroon of Colen Donck (a territory transformed after his time into Philipse Manor, upon which the city of Yonkers now stands), was sent over in 1641 as sheriff and schout-fiscal of Rensselaerswyck, continuing in that capacity until 1646. Another eminent character dispatched to America by Van Rensselaer was Domine Megapolensis, who took charge of the spiritual welfare of the people of Rensselaerswyck, and was the most learned and accomplished of the early Dutch divines in this country.

The death of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer occurred in Holland in 1646.

Married, 1st, Hillegonda Van Bylaer; 2d, Anna Van Wely, daughter of Johannes Van Wely and Eleanor Haeckens. All the sons of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, except the eldest, were by his second marriage.

Issue:

1. Johannes Van Rensselaer, second patroon; of whom below.
2. Maria Van Rensselaer, d. without issue.
3. Hillegonda Van Rensselaer, d. without issue.
4. Eleanora Van Rensselaer, d. without issue.
5. Susanna Van Rensselaer. M. Jan de la Court, and lived and d. in Holland.
6. Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, first director of Rensselaerswyck; of whom below.
7. *Jeremias Van Rensselaer*, third patroon and ancestor of the entire Van Rensselaer Family of America; of whom below.
8. Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer; of whom below.
9. Ryckert Van Rensselaer, continued the Van Rensselaer line in Holland; of whom below.
10. Wolter Van Rensselaer, d. without issue.
11. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer. M. Johannes Van Rensselaer, of a branch of the family in Holland.

II

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the first patroon, died in the prime of life. Under the laws of Holland his children succeeded jointly in his estate, the headship of the eldest being recognized, but conferring no right to exclusive inheritance. For a number of years, however, the active management of the great colony in America was continued under a vice-director.

To this position Brandt Arendt Van Slichtenhorst was appointed in 1647, succeeding Van Corlaer. Like the Van Rensselaers, he was a native of Nykerk in Guelderland, and was a man of substance and character. His daughter, Margaretta, married Philip Pieterse Schuyler of Albany, founder of the Schuyler Family, and he is still represented by descendants among other prominent families of New York,

including the Van Schaicks. In 1648 Van Slichtenhorst became involved in serious troubles with Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland, resulting from the latter's contention that the land around Fort Orange belonged to the Dutch West India Company, and in general that he was entitled to exercise authority in the surrounding country regardless of the special privileges bestowed in the Van Rensselaer grant. This attitude of the governor was resisted by Van Slichtenhorst, whereupon Stuyvesant came up with a body of soldiers to enforce his demands. No actual passage at arms occurred, but the controversy raged with much bitterness for several years, and on one occasion Van Slichtenhorst was arrested and imprisoned by the governor's order. Years later it was legally determined that Stuyvesant's whole proceedings were without warrant, and that there could be no question of the sole proprietorship and sole jurisdiction of the Van Rensselaer Family.

Van Slichtenhorst continued in charge of Rensselaerswyck until superseded in 1652 by Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, the second son of Kiliaen and the first of the family to assume personal direction of the colony.

It is noteworthy that under the government of the two vice-directors, Van Corlaer and Van Slichtenhorst, the patroonship rose to a flourishing condition, its prosperity even exceeding that of New Amsterdam. A very substantial foundation was laid for the future city of Albany, known in those times as Beverwyck. While none of the other Dutch colonies in America escaped Indian wars and ravages, Rensselaerswyck was throughout its history totally exempt from difficulties with the aborigines. Its good fortune in this respect was due to the prudent and just policy of Van Corlaer and Van Slichtenhorst, both of whom acquired much influence with the Five Nations; and the relations of amity thus established, being continued in after years by the Van Rensselaers and also by the responsible

representatives of the provincial government in northern New York, afforded to the English colonies their main element of security and strength in their prolonged struggle for supremacy with the French.

JOHANNES VAN RENSSELAER, second patroon, was the eldest son of Kiliaen, and his only son by his first wife, Hillegonda Van Bylaer. He became head of the family at the death of his father, but never visited Rensselaerswyck. He died in early manhood.

Married Elizabeth Van Twiller.

Issue:

1. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, first lord of Van Rensselaer Manor; of whom below.
2. Nella Van Rensselaer. M. Johan de Swardt.

JAN BAPTIST VAN RENSSELAER, second son of the first Kiliaen, and his first son by his second wife, Anna Van Wely, came to the colony of Rensselaerswyck in 1651, accompanied by his youngest brother, Ryckert, then a child. He assumed the office of director on the 8th of May, 1652. During his residence on the estate he lived in a style befitting his position, having brought from Holland furniture, silverware, and other personal property of much value, with portraits of members of the Van Rensselaer Family. It was he who placed in the Dutch Church of Beverwyck in 1656 the window-pane representing the Van Rensselaer arms, quartered with those of its allied families. Not long afterward he returned to Holland, becoming one of the leading merchants of Amsterdam, where he died in 1678.

Married Susanna Van Wely.

Issue:

1. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, who remained in Holland and d. without issue.

JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER, third patroon, was the third son of the first Kiliaen, and his second son by

his second wife, Anna Van Wely. He was born in Holland about 1632, received a superior education, and in 1658 came over to Rensselaerswyck to take the place of his brother Jan Baptist. He was the first of the family to establish himself permanently in America, the remainder of his life, sixteen years, being devoted to the government of the colony, which he exercised with great prudence, energy, and distinction. Pursuing the sagacious policy begun under the vice-directors, he became a man of great influence among the Indians, and "so attached them to him that they guarded his estates as carefully as they did their own." To the French in Canada he was known as one of the representative and ablest men of the Dutch and English colonies. He had the good judgment to adjust the acute differences with Stuyvesant which had so troubled the administrations of his brother and Van Slichtenhorst, and during the brief residue of the Dutch authority in New Netherland was on excellent terms with the irascible governor. On the occasion of the landtsdagh or diet summoned by Stuyvesant early in 1664 to deliberate on the critical condition of the province—this being the first general representative assembly held within the present state of New York,—he served as presiding officer of that body. After the surrender to the English in September of that year, he took the oath to the new government, and the rights and immunities enjoyed by his family in its colony of Rensselaerswyck were recognized, though the precise future status of the property was not settled in his time. He desired to obtain a new patent in the name of his family, and, failing in this, was privately advised to move in the matter as an individual (being qualified to hold real estate by virtue of his British citizenship), and so obtain a regrant of Rensselaerswyck in his personal name. This counsel he rejected indignantly, saying he was but a coheir, and would not defraud his brothers and sisters. He finally, however, obtained from Governor Andros a patent "to the heirs of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer," which,

while in a sense only provisional, served all necessary purposes until the manor grant of 1685.

Jeremias left a voluminous correspondence, together with a minute chronicle of events in America, under the title of the "New Netherland Mercury." His great industry and methodical habits have been remarked upon by many writers. "His portrait," says Mrs. Lamb, "represents him as a remarkably handsome man of courtly presence," and his beautiful autograph is "one of the most characteristic that could be found in a century." (See Frontispiece.)

Died at Rensselaerswyck, October 12, 1674 (n. s.).

Married, July 12, 1662, Maria Van Cortlandt, daughter of Oloff Stevense and Annetje (Loockermans) Van Cortlandt, and sister of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the founder of Van Cortlandt Manor. She was born in 1645 and died January 29, 1689.

Issue:

1. *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer*, second lord of Van Rensselaer Manor; see RENSSELAERSWYCK BRANCH, below.

2. *Johannes Van Rensselaer*, d. without issue.

3. *Anna Van Rensselaer*, b. in 1665. M., 1st, her first cousin, *Kiliaen Van Rensselaer*, first lord of the manor, son of *Johannes* and *Elizabeth* (Van Twiller) *Van Rensselaer* (above); m., 2d, *William Nicoll*.

4. *Hendrick Van Rensselaer*, who became proprietor of the "Eastern" Manor, comprising Greenbush and Claverack, and was the progenitor of the younger line of the Van Rensselaer Family; see GREENBUSH AND CLAVERACK BRANCH, below.

5. *Maria Van Rensselaer*. M. *Peter Schuyler*.

REV. NICOLAUS VAN RENSSELAER, fourth son of the first *Kiliaen*, and his third son by his second wife, *Anna Van Wely*, was born in Amsterdam, Holland, about 1638. He was liberally educated, taking his degree in theology. While on a tour of Europe he met the exiled King Charles II. at Brussels, and had the politeness to predict his speedy restoration to the British throne. A few years later, Charles being happily restored, Mr. Van Rensselaer went to England as chaplain of the Dutch embassy, and, being recog-

nized by the sovereign, was presented by him with a gold snuff-box, which is still preserved among the heirlooms of the Van Rensselaer Family.

In England he took holy orders in the established church, and was appointed lecturer at St. Margaret's, Lothburg. In 1674 he came to America with a letter from the duke of York, who recommended that he be put in charge of one of the Dutch churches. This led to a heated theological controversy, an element of the Dutch Reformed organization regarding Mr. Van Rensselaer as a divine of "papistical" tendencies. The antagonism went to such lengths that he was arrested and imprisoned "for some dubious words spoken in a sermon" at Albany, the complainants being the famous Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milburne. Compromises were effected, but his ministerial career was involved in vexations to the end.

He succeeded his brother Jeremias as head of Rensselaerswyck, but enjoyed the position for only a brief time, dying at Albany in November, 1678.

Married, February 10, 1675, Alyda Schuyler, daughter of Philip Pieterse and Margaretta (Van Slichtenhorst) Schuyler; no issue. She remarried, in 1679, Robert Livingston of Albany, later the grantee of Livingston Manor; and from them the elder line of the Livingston Family descends.

RYCKERT (RICHARD) VAN RENSSELAER, fifth son of the first Kiliaen, and his fourth son² by his second wife, Anna Van Wely, was born in Holland and came to America in 1651, with his brother Jan Baptist. He was for many years a magistrate of Albany, also having a part in the management of the colony after the death of Jeremias. He was the owner of the bouwerie called "The Flatts," four miles north of Albany, which he sold in 1670 to Philip

²According to a family tree now existing in Holland, he was the fourth son of the first Kiliaen, and his third son by his second wife, the Rev. Nicolaus being the youngest.

Pieterse Schuyler. Returning to Holland, he was for some time treasurer and burgomaster of Vianen in that country, and died about 1695.

Married, in Holland, Anna Van Beaumont, and had six sons and two daughters, of whom four sons and one daughter married.

His descendants continued the family name in Holland until 1815, when, upon the death of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, grandson of Ryckert's youngest son, Jeremias, the male line became extinct.

There was, however, an elder male descent through Ryckert's second son, Anthony Van Rensselaer, who married Bertha Pekstok. Their grandson, Jan Jacob Van Rensselaer, married Susanna Catherine Beeldsnyder, and died about the same time as his cousin Jeremias, leaving an only daughter, Sara Johanna Jacoba Van Rensselaer. She was the last of the Van Rensselaer surname in Holland; married Jonkheer Jan Van Bowier, and left twelve children. The late Vice-Admiral Marten Wilhelminus Van Rensselaer-Bowier of Amsterdam was her son and received by royal letters patent the right to bear his mother's name and arms in connection with his own and to transmit them to his legitimate descendants.

III

This generation, the third from Kiliaen the founder, witnessed the erection of the old patroonship of Rensselaerswyck into an English manor or lordship (1685, confirmed and more specifically brought under the provisions of the statute of primogeniture in 1704). The hopes of the family were placed in Johannes's son Kiliaen, who became the first lord; but he died in 1687 without issue. After this mournful event the succession devolved on Jeremias's eldest son, Kiliaen; but he, though born in 1663, did not marry until 1701, and moreover his younger brother Hendrick, married in 1689, was for many years without male

issue. Thus the continuance of the Van Rensselaer name and inheritance for a long time hung in uncertainty; but eventually heirs male were born to both the brothers. With them begin the two distinct lines of the Van Rensselaer Family which have come down to the present time; Kiliaen being the progenitor of the elder or Rensselaerswyck branch, and Hendrick of the younger or Greenbush and Claverack branch.

RENSSELAERSWYCK BRANCH

KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER, first lord of the manor, the only son of Johannes and Elizabeth (Van Twiller) Van Rensselaer, was born in Holland, and, as the eldest male heir, received an education and rearing which corresponded to his station. Very little is known of his life, and indeed he is often confused by historical writers with his cousin and successor, Kiliaen, the son of Jeremias.

At the death of his uncle Jeremias in 1674 he was still in his minority, and until coming of age the estate of Rensselaerswyck was administered by his relatives; Rev. Nicolaus Van Rensselaer being director until his death (1678), Madame Maria Van Rensselaer (widow of Jeremias) acting as treasurer, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt (Madame Van Rensselaer's brother) serving in an advisory capacity.

The young Kiliaen received (in conjunction with his cousin Kiliaen, Jeremias's son) the manor grant of Rensselaerswyck, which was issued in the name of the duke of York by Governor Dongan on the 17th of October, 1685. In this instrument he was constituted the first lord of the manor.³ Soon afterward occurred the first alienation of

³The proprietors of Van Rensselaer Manor, as of the other manors of New York, are frequently alluded to by inexact writers—especially the authors of so-called historical novels—as “lords.” Although it is true that the policy of the British colonial government was to encourage a semi-aristocratic society in America, and that tendency is well illustrated by the manor grants, the heads of the manorial families had no title or designation of gentility as such, and the term “lord of the manor” meant simply its owner or possessor. On this subject the present writer has said in a previous work: “The man-

Van Rensselaer lands—a tract running one mile along the river and sixteen miles west, which was relinquished to the government of the province of New York “for commons to the king,” and this act of “magnanimous generosity of the Van Rensselaers” was followed, July 22, 1686, by the chartering of the city of Albany, embraced in the strip. It will be remembered that Stuyvesant had arbitrarily assumed to appropriate the lands about the old Fort Orange to the uses of the Dutch West India Company; but at the instance of the Van Rensselaer Family his action was legally reviewed by Governor Dongan, who reversed it, declaring that “The Town of Albany lyes within the Rensselaers colony. . . . They settled the place.” The Van Rensselaers, however, rested content with the justice done in principle, and never attempted to resume possession of the property, although its value had greatly increased.

Kiliaen, the first lord, died in 1687, at Watervliet, N. Y.

Married Anna Van Rensselaer, daughter of Jeremias and Maria (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer. No issue. His widow married, 2d, William Nicoll, by whom she had issue; from them come the Sill and Gardiner families—a present descendant being the wife of William Bayard Van Rensselaer, now head of the Van Rensselaer Family.

KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER, second lord of the manor, the eldest son of Jeremias and Maria (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer, was born on the Rensselaerswyck estate, August 24, 1663. He became the head of the family in 1687, upon the death of his cousin. *of his time.*

ors, one and all, were only ordinary landed estates granted to certain English subjects in America, who . . . enjoyed no distinguished rank whatever, and were in no way elevated titularly, by virtue of their manorial proprietorships, above the common people. In no case was a manorial grant . . . conferred upon a member of the British nobility, or even upon an individual boasting the minor rank of baronet; and in no case, moreover, was such a grant bestowed in recognition of services to the crown or as a mark of special honor by the sovereign. Without exception the proprietors of the manors were perfectly plain, untitled gentlemen.”—See the able History of the Manors by the late Edward Floyd de Lancey in Scharf’s “History of Westchester County.”

Although his grandfather, the first Kiliaen, died in 1646, his estate had throughout all this time remained unsettled, being held in common, and apparently with good mutual understandings, by his various heirs. Besides the manor of Rensselaerswyck, the family possessions included much valuable property in Holland. It being desirable to effect a final division, Kiliaen of Rensselaerswyck, on his own behalf and that of his brothers and sisters (the American heirs), in 1695 entered into negotiations with Kiliaen of Amsterdam, son of Jan Baptist, who represented the heirs in the old country; and as the result the American lands were confirmed to the American heirs and the Holland lands to the Holland heirs. This arrangement was made conformably to Dutch usages. The ultimate disposal of the manorial property did not, however, depend on any such amicable family agreement, but was subject to the very precise English customs regarding inheritances of landed estates.

Agreeably to these customs, a new patent to the manor of Rensselaerswyck was issued by Queen Anne, May 20, 1704, which confirmed it to Kiliaen, and after him perpetually to his eldest male descent. Several days later, June 1, he released to his younger brother Hendrick the entire Claverack (Columbia County) Manor of sixty thousand acres, with some fifteen hundred acres of the upper manor, which included an island in the Hudson and the Greenbush or Crailo tract, one mile square. He also gave land to his sister, Mrs. Peter Schuyler, and his nephew, Rensselaer Nicoll.

He was one of the most prominent citizens of his times, being continuously in public life from 1691 to his death in 1719. The right to send a special deputy to the legislative assembly of New York was conferred upon Van Rensselaer Manor,⁴ and in that body Kiliaen sat from its first session in 1691 until 1703. He was then elevated to the governor's

⁴The manor was continuously represented in the assembly throughout its colonial existence—1691 to 1775.

council. of which he was a member for the rest of his life, 1704 to 1719, and he also occupied the responsible position of commissioner of Indian affairs.

Died on the manor in 1719.

Married, October 15, 1701, Maria Van Cortlandt, daughter of Stephanus and Gertrude (Schuyler) Van Cortlandt.

Issue:

1. Maria Van Rensselaer, b. 1702. M. Frederick Van Cortlandt.
2. Gertrude Van Rensselaer, b. 1703, d. 1704.
3. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, third lord of the manor; of whom below.
4. *Stephen Van Rensselaer I.*, fourth lord of the manor; of whom below.
5. Johannes Van Rensselaer, b. and d. 1711.
6. Gertrude Van Rensselaer, b. 1714. M. Adonis Schuyler of the New Jersey Schuyler Family.
7. John Baptist Van Rensselaer, b. 1717, d. unmarried, 1763.
8. Anna Van Rensselaer, b. 1719. M. John Schuyler of New Jersey.

IV

In this generation, as in the third, there were two lords of the manor. The first of these was

JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER, third lord, the eldest son of Kiliaen and Maria (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer. He was born in 1705, represented the manor of Rensselaerswyck in the provincial assembly from 1726 to 1743, and was nominated and confirmed a member of the governor's council, but died, unmarried, soon afterward, in 1745, being succeeded by his brother,

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER I., fourth lord, the second son of Kiliaen and Maria (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer. He was born on the manor, March 23, 1707. Being of quite delicate constitution, he took no part in public affairs, but for a time held the position of commissioner of Indian affairs. Died June, 1747.

Married, July 5, 1729, Elizabeth Groesbeck; she died December 31, 1756.

Issue:

1. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, b. 1730, d. young.
2. Maria Van Rensselaer, b. 1731, d. 1734.
3. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, b. 1734. M., 1753. General Abraham Ten Broeck. He was many years a member of the provincial assembly (representing Van Rensselaer Manor); was colonel of militia, a member of the provincial congress of 1775, president of the state convention of 1776, brigadier-general in the Revolution, and later state senator of Albany, judge of the court of common pleas, and president of the Bank of Albany; d. January 19, 1810.
4. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, b. 1737, d. young.
5. Maria Van Rensselaer, b. 1738, d. unmarried.
6. *Stephen Van Rensselaer II.*, fifth lord of the manor; of whom below.
7. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, b. 1743, d. unmarried.

V

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER II., fifth lord of the manor, the eldest surviving son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Groesbeck) Van Rensselaer, was born on the manor, June 2, 1742. His father died when he was only five years old, and during his minority the affairs of the manor were administered by his brother-in-law, Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck, who also was its official representative in the assembly.

He is the best remembered in the family as the builder of the modern Manor House (1765).⁵ Like his father, his life was too brief to admit of any conspicuous participation in public concerns. In his time occurred the stamp act troubles and the division of popular sentiment in the colonies for and against the British crown. He was a vigorous opponent of the policy of the English government, and indeed all the Van Rensselaers of that period were staunch and aggressive American patriots.⁶

⁵The original Manor House, says the late Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, was "a modest building of brick brought from Holland, by the side of the present Troy Road (which was not in existence then), opposite the present Manor House."

⁶There was no member of the manorial family old enough to bear arms during the early years of the Revolution, Stephen III., its next head, not coming of age until 1785, two years after the conclusion of peace. The

Died of a pulmonary disease, 1769, at the age of thirty-seven.

Married, January, 1764, Catharine Livingston, daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and his wife, Christina Ten Broeck. Mrs. Van Rensselaer married, 2d, Rev. Eilardus Westerlo, by whom she left descendants.

Issue:

1. *Stephen Van Rensselaer III.*, sixth and last lord of the manor; of whom below.

2. Philip Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. in Albany, April 15, 1767, and d. there, September 25, 1824. He was for nineteen years mayor of the city of Albany, was president of the Bank of Albany and the Albany Bible Society, a trustee of Union College, and one of the founders of the Albany Academy. M., 1787, Anne de Peyster Van Cortlandt, daughter of General Philip Van Cortlandt; no issue.

3. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, b. 1768, d. 1841. M., 1st, September 18, 1787, John Bradstreet Schuyler, son of General Philip Schuyler; m., 2d, 1800, John Bleeker. By both marriages she left numerous descendants. A daughter, Catherine Westerlo Bleeker, m. Cornelius Glen Van Rensselaer of Greenbush, grandson of Colonel Johannes Van Rensselaer.

Claverack branch, however, had been quite productive of males. "At that momentous time," says Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, "there were eighteen males of the Van Rensselaer name, of whom four were boys and two were old men unable to endure military service. The remaining twelve all bore commissions in all the grades of the service."

Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden wrote to the earl of Dartmouth in 1775: "The present representatives of the manors [Rensselaerswyck and Claverack] have distinguished themselves in the opposition to government, and were the warmest supporters of the congress."

(*To be continued.*)

THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF NEW YORK CITY IN A HUNDRED YEARS.

1807—1907.

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS.

THE OLD CITY—THE NEW CITY.

*First Paper.*¹

WHILE those interested in history and in the commemoration of important historic events are now looking forward to the tercentenary of the discovery of our great river by Hudson in 1609, and are eagerly engaged in preparations for a proper display of the wonderful outcome of that discovery, it is as well to recall the progress of development of our own city, which has made of it the greatest outlet of the product of the most prolific region of food supplies in the world—supplies without which the existence of the population of western Europe would be uncertain and hazardous. It is to be hoped that our great schemes of personal transportation by surface, elevated, and subway

1. It is proposed to treat this subject in two branches. The first, a picture of the old city, is arranged from the address before the New York Historical Society in November, 1900, "New York in the Nineteenth Century," which was the basis of the papers on this theme printed last year in this Magazine. The second, a picture of the new city on the lines laid down in the commissioners' plan of 1807, and the evolution in the century ending 1907, must, of course, be delayed until the statistics of the beginning of that year are made public.

The commissioners were allowed four years in which to complete their plan, and it was not till 1811 that their report, with an accompanying map, was filed. There is a copy of this map in the New York Historical Society. The Embargo Act utterly paralyzed all business in 1807 and stopped all physical development of the city of New York. There could hardly have been any changes in the face of the city from the date of the creation of the commission and the filing of its report.

railroads, and the connection of the boroughs of New York by bridges and tunnels, may by the arrival of this anniversary be equal to the demands of transportation and traffic; a doubtful matter, as each advance in these lines at once attracts an influx of population which creates a new demand on the same lines.

In an article entitled "A Coming New York Centenary," the Editor of this Magazine heralded the historic event, the beginnings of the new city of New York, which we this year celebrate. On the 3d of April, 1807, the legislature of the state passed "An Act relative to improvements touching the laying out of Streets and Roads in the city of New York." The term city of New York designated the entire island of Manhattan—a surface of about twenty-two square miles (14,080 acres). The upper lateral limit and termination of the named streets of the old city was North Street, now Houston, a limit which extended from Clinton's wharf on the East River to the Hudson or North River. All of these streets bear proper names, which were given sometimes by individuals, sometimes by the city officials, to commemorate the names of events or persons, or to please popular fancy.

It is now proposed to treat the subject of the evolution of the city in the hundred years 1807-1907 in two papers. The first relates to the old city—the city of streets with proper names. It is as well to state here that the year 1807, the date of the appointment of the commissioners, was that of the culmination of the great temporary prosperity of the city, a prosperity increasing from the time of the evacuation by the British in 1783. The ravages made by their occupation in two disastrous fires, and the desecration and injury to the public buildings, had been repaired; the commerce of the city had risen to its height of expansion and profit. A single national ordinance, the Embargo Act of 1807, put an end to this halcyon era. But this is a subject outside of the present inquiry.

The area of the city proper in 1800 lay within the somewhat irregular triangle of the line from the North River at the foot of Reade Street across the south of the island to the East River at the foot of Catherine Street, the lower corner of the old Walton shipyard. The original division of the city into six wards, found in the charter of 1686—the South, Dock, East, North, West, and Out wards,—to which was added the Montgomerie Ward, parcelled off from the Out Ward in the Montgomerie Charter of 1730, was no longer the same. The Out Ward comprised all the land of Manhattan Island beyond the limits of the city proper, and the city jurisdiction covered also all the waters and islands of the rivers and the bay.² In 1791 an entirely new arrangement was made, a change which was declared necessary on account of the rapid growth of the city and the unequal size and uncertain boundaries of the old wards. Certain wards were created and designated by numbers.³

2. The Montgomerie Survey of 1730 gives the northern bounds of the North Ward and Montgomerie's Ward as the high-road to Boston (Chatham Street), and William Street as their dividing line. The Ratzer Survey of 1767 marks the spread of buildings northward as far as Bullock (Broome) Street, forming of the Out Ward an irregular parallelogram through which the old Bowery Lane ran on its course to King's Bridge. Beyond Bullock Street there lay at short distances small clusters of farm houses on both sides of the highway, then the main artery of the island. Broadway reached as far as the Fields or Commons (City Hall Park), above which it was called later Great George Street, and still higher up the Middle Road.

The eastern water line in the Ratzer Survey extended from Whitehall to Catherine Street. Water Street was then the river street, as Queen Street (Pearl), commonly called "the Strand," as reads the Van Cortlandt deed of 1685, had been before. The old Merchants' Coffee House, famous in our history, on Coffee House Slip, southwest corner of Wall and present Water streets, fronted on Queen (now Water), from which there were but one hundred and sixteen feet to low water mark. On the Hudson River there were no wharves below Little Queen (Cedar Street). From the rear of the houses, on the lower Broadway, gardens extended to the sandy beach of the north side with summer houses, from which one might fish when the tide served.

3. The bounds of the First Ward were North River, Cedar, Nassau, Broad, Water, and Coenties Slip; in 1803 it comprised all south of Pine and Albany streets. The bounds of the Second Ward were the East River, Coenties Slip, Water, Broad, and Liberty streets; in 1803, East River, Pine, Nassau, Spruce, and Ferry. The bounds of the Third Ward were the East River, Liberty, Nassau, Spruce, and Ferry; 1803, North River, Albany, Thames, Pine, Nassau, and Murray. For the Fourth Ward, North

Toward the close of the eighteenth century there stood at the upper end of Broadway, opposite St. Paul's Chapel, where the Park Bank is to-day, two brick buildings,⁴ which marked the confines of the uptown of that period. At the corner where the St. Paul Building now stands a signboard pointing eastward bore the inscription, "Road to Boston," while on the opposite corner at Vesey Street a similar sign read "Road to Albany"—quaint but conclusive reminders to the traveller that he who passed between these signs crossed the *Ultima Thule* of the old burgh. The road with its double signification ran along the open field, not being honored with any special designation on Ratzer's map, but later was called Chatham Street. It merged in the Bowery Lane at the present Chatham Square near the Jews' burial ground, where it took a sharp angle northerly and ran skirting the great de Lancey and Stuyvesant farms, the smaller properties of the Tiebouts, and "Gramercy," the estate of James Duane, on its right. It then curved somewhat to the westward, and, passing through the present site of Union Square, pursued a straight course toward Bloomingdale on the line of the present Broadway, forking a short distance beyond what is now the corner of Broadway and Twenty-third Street. This part of the road was a favorite racing course. The run was usually from the Tiebout gate on the Bowery Lane at about Fourth Avenue and Seventeenth Street to John Watts's gate on the Kingsbridge Road at about Twenty-ninth Street and Fourth

River, Cedar, Nassau, and Murray streets; since 1803 as they are to-day. Fifth Ward, the same as present Fourth Ward; 1803, North River, Murray, Barclay, and Canal. Sixth Ward, North River, Murray and Chatham, Bowery, Hester and Canal; 1803, Broadway, Chatham, Bowery, and Grand. Seventh Ward, all east and north of Catharine Street, Bowery, Baxter, and Canal; 1803, East River, Catherine, Bowery, and the line of Stuyvesant Place continued to the East River.

⁴ William Alexander Duer, who entered the city after the evacuation in 1788, lodged at the house on Broadway later occupied by the Chemical Bank. The North River was in full sight from Broadway.

Avenue, the distance being approximately a mile, and perhaps measured. The eastern fork or branch ran at an angle which is still shown by the trees on Madison Square.

At McGown's Pass, through the high ground which is at the upper end of Central Park, the road again forked, the eastern branch going to the village of Harlem. The western branch ran from the McGown's tavern—which stood on the east side of the road—across the Harlem Meadows to Day's Tavern, a little above the Point of Rocks, now One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. The upper part of this was the noted Harlem Lane, about a mile in length and perfectly straight, and the favorite speedway for generations of New York sporting blood. Originally laid out by the Dutch Governor Keift, it made part of the old Post Road. Here we leave it for a while and return to the course of the western and more properly the northern fork from the Bowery Lane, at Madison Square, which took the name, Road to Bloomingdale. Holding a course nearly northerly, while the line of the Hudson River veered to the northeast, it came upon the Vandewater or Bloomingdale Heights, which overlooked the North River on the west and the Harlem Flats (Morningside Park) on the east, and, running along the high ground, passed the seven mile stone (present site of Columbia College) nearly to its northerly end, made a sudden descent from Benson's Farm and Vandewater Heights at what is named in the old deeds Breakneck Hill, then, threading the flat meadow under the shadow of the heights, entered the Hollow Way (now One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street) between the Kortright farm-house and the Point of Rocks—as the sharp lower end of the Heights of Harlem was called,—and at Day's Tavern again met its comrade at the head of the Bowery Lane. Thus joined, they formed what was for a long time the only road north of the Hollow Way. The village of Harlem was as yet an isolated

community, to be reached only by long drive or sail from the inhabited city. There was a race course here.⁵

The heights of Bloomingdale are historic ground, though there was hardly a village of that name. It was on this high land that the gallant Knowlton fell, and it was here that Washington faced the British on the 16th of September, 1776, in what is called the battle of Harlem. It is worthy of mention that when the centennial of that event was commemorated, the scene of the action was hardly changed. The same rugged rocks, the same sharp declivity to the same flat meadow was yet still covered in 1876 with vegetable gardens, a country road, and here and there a farmhouse. Look at it to-day! From the windows of the elevated trains one sees a flat of roofs which cover the entire surface, and intersecting threads of street lines far below. The Hollow Way, across which the Black Watch sounded its derisive challenge, is now the busy highway of a population chiefly of German origin, and of a Saturday night the gayest street on Manhattan Island.

The tavern of the Widow Day (relict of Anthony Day) was a noted hostelry. There Washington halted with his suite on the 19th of November, 1783, on his approach to the city at the time of the evacuation. A council was held in the tavern, and it is probable that he remained there some days. Beyond this point the road to King's Bridge skirted the eastern foot of the steep Heights of Harlem, then, rising to the upland, passed the Roger Morris estate, the mansion house where Washington made his headquarters, and the commanding point beyond where Fort Washington stood,

5. Soon after the purchase of Manhattan Island, O'Callaghan tells us, six farms or "boueries" were marked off and set aside—Numbers 1, 3, and 5, on the west side (i. e., of the line of Broadway). Numbers 2, 4, and 6 on the east side. A tract below present Wall Street was known as the "Company's Garden." No. 1 stretched beyond this to present Hudson Street; No. 2 lay east of Broadway; No. 3 was later the village of Greenwich; No. 4 was the "plain of Manhattan," later the Commons and the City Hall Park. The entire land above was known by the names of Bloomingdale and Harlem, and the patents issued bore these names, as appears by the common council records. The present Boulevard is on the line of the old Bloomingdale Road.

and, reaching the King's Bridge, which spanned the Harlem from west to east, crossed it and on the continent again forked. The northerly branch, which ran through the manor of Yonkers, again took the name of "Road to Albany," while the Boston Post Road held an easterly course through Westchester and along the northern shore of Long Island Sound.

There is a curious testimony to the distance from the city to the end of the island by road in the report of the race against time by a horse belonging to Oliver de Lancey, later the famous loyalist officer, "the horse to start from one of the Palisade gates and run to the Bridge and back again within two hours." This was in April, 1754. The distance, fourteen measured miles (the run being twenty-eight measured miles), was covered in one hour and forty-six minutes. The Palisades here alluded to were those set up in 1745 when an invasion of French and Indians was expected, and stretched from the foot of Catherine Street to the North River. They had two gates.

The old colonial highways were not wanting in what was called "entertainment for man and beast"—taverns, inns, hostelries, more comfortable, more hospitable to the traveller or wayfarer than are to be met with nowadays, either in America or England, outside the large cities, since steam drove out the stage-coach and railroad stations, with their noise and bustle, supplied the needs of the traveller with railroad speed. Perhaps with the arrival of the bicycle and automobile and the necessary improvement of country roads which will inevitably follow, the coming generations will again enjoy the delights of the wayside inn, the leafy shade, the murmuring brook, of which Shenstone sang and our own Irving has told in his matchless prose.

The Post Road was well supplied with hostelries, and each, large and small, catered to some special class of customer. Toward the close of the century the cattle-dealers whose earlier resort had been the Drover's Inn, kept by

Vanderberg on the Church Farm near the racecourse (close to the site of the present Astor House), gathered at the Bull's Head in the Bowery Lane at Chatham Square, and the farmers at the Plough and Harrow on Freshwater Hill nearby. The lovers of the horse, gentlemen and jockeys, met at the de Lancey Arms close to the paddock on the large farm of the famous sporting family whose colors were blue and silver if they agreed with their arms. No doubt the sign, with its lance and pennant displayed, came down when the great farm (on the site of which in 1877 three hundred thousand souls were housed—today twice that number) was confiscated to the state. Sportsmen who loved to hunt the feathered game which abounded on the island had more than one resort; the Dog and Duck, in the Bowery Lane at the second milestone, for those who chose the salt meadows which were black with water-fowl in the autumn, while those who sought woodcock and quail and wild pigeon in the woods and glades of the middle of the island made their early morning start from the Dove Tavern, which, favored by the upper class, stood by the Five Mile stone (now Sixty-seventh Street and Third Avenue). Near this was the British Artillery park in 1776, where young Hale met his tragic fate. There was still another Dog and Duck tavern later, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets and Fourth avenue, which ultimately became the Alleg'hany Hotel.

Farther up, the old Post Road passed Legget's Black Horse Tavern on its west side. This was the advance post of the British, September 15, 1776, the day before the battle of Harlem. It stood at the seventh milestone (Ninety-sixth Street). Still farther, and slightly to the northwest on the east side of the road, was McGown's Tavern, built on the height which overlooked the pass to which it gave its name. The Academy of Mount St. Vincent was built around its walls: it was long used as a Central Park restaurant, and was finally burned down. The blockhouse at this pass,

whose ruins remain, was one of the defences of the island in the War of 1812. These two taverns, with blacksmith's shops and large sheds, were real country inns where the traveller found warm welcome, rest, and bountiful cheer in great variety. And such were all of the taverns beyond them, those below having more transient custom.

Above the pass, at a spot now within Central Park between the lines of Fifth and Sixth avenues, at about One Hundred and Ninth Street, was the Half-Way House, some eight miles from Wall Street and the same distance from the King's Bridge; this was the southern end of that straight mile dear to riders and drivers, the Harlem Lane. This noted inn was visited by Madame Knight in 1704. The Widow Day's Tavern was at the north end of the lane on the east side of the present St. Nicholas Avenue. Next on the road was the Post Boy, called Nell's Tavern, a noted place which stood on the low ground at the foot of another Breakneck Hill, where in June, 1795, the Harlem stage was overturned in its descent, the driver and a passenger being killed. This place was about One Hundred and Forty-third Street. Here the stage-drivers were glad to rest their horses before undertaking the ascent of the hill. The Roger Morris House, Washington's headquarters on the Harlem Heights, was opened in May, 1785, by Talmage Hall, for the accommodation of the eastern and northern stages,—and his octagonal room became the resort of gay parties from the city. Washington entertained a party here during his presidency. The next tavern on the road was the Cross and Keys, an old colonial inn later known as Earl's Tavern, and still a mile beyond was one of the most noted of all the old landmarks, the Blue Bell—not the flower of Scotland, but a bell painted blue. Here it was that the Huguenots rested on their long walk from New Rochelle to the city that they might be in time for the early service. Here it was that Washington and Governor Clinton reviewed the continentals on their march to the city on its evacuation.

The building was a long low structure of a story and a half (it was on the line of One Hundred and Eightieth Street). It is said to have been the original Dutch homestead of the Coster family. Still beyond the Blue Bell is the gorge through which runs the lane to Tubby Hook, and another Black Horse Tavern, the fourth of this favorite name on the island. It was the stopping place of the Albany coaches. It was on the west side of the road and about a mile below the King's Bridge. The inn at the King's Bridge was kept during the Revolution by one Hyatt, and was known by his name; it stood long after the war. When the continentals threatened the British works at the end of the island in 1777, Heath and Knyphausen exchanging shots in an artillery duel, the balls crossed each other over the highest chimneys.

In 1766, when Ratzer made his survey, there were only two highways, each with branches. They were both laid out in the Dutch period. The one led to the village of Harlem, the other to Bloomingdale, both early Dutch settlements, as their names indicate (Bloomendale and Harleam being picturesque places in Holland). Later the English laid out a road on the western side of the island, along the hills and through the dales and meadows that skirt the banks of the noble Hudson, and it received the name of the Road to Greenwich. This road began at the Hook at Cortlandt Street or (Leary Street, as sometimes called, because John Leary, a noted turfman, there had his livery and stables), and ran in a nearly straight northerly direction. Ratzer's Survey shows no buildings on the water side of the road except the breweries of George Harrison, Esq., on a river bluff, and those about the Foundry on the low ground beyond. Farther to the north lay the Lispenard estates. The Lispenards were of an old Huguenot family which by intermarriage with those of Rutgers and Barclay acquired the crown grants to the entire land. All three families operated breweries, the source of many New York

fortunes. The old Rutgers breweries were on the North River at the foot of Cortlandt Street, and those of the Lisenards on the meadows at the foot of present Canal Street. Lisenard Hill overlooked the meadows and what is still known as St. John's Square. On its crest stood the family mansion at the junction of present Hudson and Desbrosses streets. It was to this house that Washington, when he landed on Lisenard's meadows in June, 1775, on his way to take command of the army at Cambridge, was escorted by a large concourse of military and citizens, and here he stopped. Colonel Leonard Lisenard, his host, was an old Son of Liberty, delegate to the provincial congress, and one of the committee of one hundred—or committee of safety, the prototype of many another in later days. Across the salt meadows and the marshes of the creek the road ran over a low causeway which was overflowed at times of high tide or freshet.

The high land to the north of the meadows was a delightful spot for residence. Here was "Richmond Hill," originally the estate of Abram Mortier, the paymaster of the royal forces. He died in New York, December 29, 1771. It was purchased by him in 1760 at the close of the Canada campaign. This fine residence is noted in our annals. It was the summer headquarters of Washington in 1776; Lady Washington was with him, and Black Sam Fraunces was his steward. John Adams resided there when he was vice-president and New York was the seat of government. Later it was the home of Aaron Burr, who secured it on a long lease in 1797. He lived there in style, and it was from this house that he started on the fatal morning when Hamilton fell by his hand. The estate was later bought by John Jacob Astor, an early believer in the progress of New York—in real estate values at least. In my generation "Richmond Hill" has been used for public entertainments. Montresor's opera troupe opened there in 1832, and many have been the military balls in its spacious hall. The block on

which the mansion stood was then high ground on the corner of Varick and Vandam streets.⁶ Immediately beyond this was "Greenwich," the estate of Lady Warren, widow of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, the hero of Louisburg, the ground, about three hundred acres, being partly purchased by him and partly the gift of the city while he was yet captain in the navy (1745) in gratitude for that action. The elegant mansion stood three or four hundred yards from the river and commanded a fine view of the bay—fit home for a sailor whose bones rest in Westminster and whose name lives in a New York street, once a street of fashion. Sir Peter died in Ireland in 1752, leaving three daughters, one of whom became the wife of the earl of Abington, and another of Charles Fitzroy, Baron Southampton. Their names are perpetuated in our city in Abington and Fitzroy streets. Lady Warren was a de Lancey, and her brother Oliver was her husband's executor.⁷

"Greenwich" was for a time occupied by General Sir Robert Monckton, governor of the New York Province, who made it his home on his return from the conquest of Martinique in 1761. He was a sporting gentleman and a bosom friend of John Watts and Oliver de Lancey, the highbloods of the day. Monckton returned to England in 1763, but it was during his stay at Richmond that the beautiful Greenwich racecourse saw its palmy days. Monckton was a patron of John Leary, who seems to have managed this track. Leary is found taking entrance money for a race there for the New York subscription plate as early as 1753.

6. Not far distant was Colonel Varick's country seat of "Tusculum". It overlooked the Minetta Creek. Its site was on what is now called Varick Place (on Sullivan Street between North, now Houston, and Herring, now Bleeker Street).

7. The cross country road to Greenwich was on the line of present Stuyvesant Place, Astor Place, and Greenwich Avenue. The first-named section was called Art Street. They were but a succession of lanes. Greenwich Avenue was Monument Lane. The first of these lanes was opened in 1768. The present Greenwich Avenue runs diagonally in a north-easterly direction from Sixth Avenue at Clinton Place (Eighth Street) to Eighth Avenue at Eighteenth Street.

In the division of the Warren estate, the mansion, with fifty acres of land, fell to Lady Abington, who sold it in 1788 for \$2,200. It was later the property of Abijah Hammond.⁸

In the rear of this property an inner road communicated with the estate of Oliver de Lancey, the brother of Lady Warren, which he called "Bloomingdale." The house was burned by a raiding party of patriots during the war, and the ladies, half-clad, escaped to the Aphorp house, the British Headquarters, nearby. This inner road was called Monument or Obelisk Lane, because of a monument set up in honor of General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec. Monckton and Warren were both in that campaign, and de Lancey there won his spurs. Between the mansions of the Warrens and the de Lanceys were the country houses of James Jauncey and William Bayard. Between these estates the road ran easterly, but a short westerly cut led to the river, and this is the point which the engineer Montresor in his map of 1775 marked Greenwich. In Gaine's *Mercury* for January 15, 1759, there is an advertisement of "Greenwich" for sale, which is described as three miles from the city. The de Lanceys owned another estate, called "Little

8. Mr. Janvier, the authority on the history of Greenwich Village, informs us that its Indian name was Sappocanican and made part of the Dutch West India Company's farm No. 3, which was appropriated by Governor Van Twiller to his private use as a tobacco farm. It covered the site of the Ninth Ward. Here he built his farm-house in 1633, the first house erected on the island of Manhattan north of the settlement around Fort Amsterdam. The Dutch called the place "Bossen Bouerie"—the farm in the woods. Mr. Janvier cites a deed of 1721 as the earliest known instance of the use of the name Greenwich. Its earliest name in the common council records is of 1765, when an overseer was appointed of the "Road commonly called Grinage Road, also the Tour Road passing by John Morin Scotts, Esq., and the Bloomandale Road." The Tour was a long time a favorite drive. The Warren house, "Greenwich," faced to the river, which was but a few hundred yards distant, and commanded an extensive water view. It is stated that Admiral Warren at one time lived at the Vauxhall. Of this I have found no proof, but after his death we find the estate with its beautiful gardens in the hands of the famous innholder, Samuel Fraunces. At the time of the Stamp Act it was occupied by Major James of the Sixtieth Regiment of foot, which created great disturbance in the city, and the house was sacked by the mob in 1765. The minutes of the common council show Sam Fraunces again in occupation in 1771. It is then named as his "dwelling house."

Bloomingdale," at what is now the present southwest entrance of Central Park.

The next seat beyond Greenwich was Chelsea,⁹ a hamlet to which Thomas Clarke, a provincial veteran, gave this military name, as that of Greenwich was a reminder of old England. It was near the river on the line of present Twenty-third Street. Beyond Chelsea, John Morin Scott, patriot and soldier, had a summer home which Kitchener notes on his map of 1782. John Adams in his diary records his visit to it in 1784 on his way to the first continental congress, and describes it as on the Hudson about three miles from the city.

To accommodate the magnates of this region, and to remedy the uncertainty of travel in the wet season by the river road, the corporation of the city in 1768 opened a lane from the Bowery Post Road northwesterly across the fields, beginning at what was then called Art Street and is now Astor Place. This lane ran along the southern border of Minto, the estate of Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor of New York City during the Revolution, and made a northwesterly course to about the upper northwest corner of what is now Washington Square, whence it took the line of what is now Greenwich Avenue from Eighth to Fourteenth streets. The Monument Lane made a part of what, in its entire cross route from the Bowery, was called the Greenwich Lane. Not far above Scott's country seat the Greenwich River Road entered the Bloomingdale Road—the western branch of that old Bowery Lane which forked at Madi-

9. Chelsea was the most northerly of the villages on the west side. It adjoined the Warren estate, with which it was connected by a road or lane. Captain Clarke purchased his small estate and built his house on the river bank in 1750. His widow died in 1802. It was bought by Bishop Moore, added to, and conveyed to his son, Clement C. Moore, in 1813. The estate, Mr. Janvier tells us, "extended from the north side of Nineteenth Street to the south side of Twenty-fourth Street." The Episcopal Theological Seminary occupies an entire block, the land of which was presented by Mr. Moore. To him the village of Chelsea owes its early growth by streets opened by him on the lines of the commissioners' plan. Mr. Moore is memorable also as the author of the "Night before Christmas."

son Square—a little below the hamlet of Bloomingdale. It has already been shown how these two roads now joined met the east branch of the Bowery Road at Day's Tavern. It was by this cross country road that Aaron Burr led the narrow escape of the continentals when the British came in, September 14, 1776, and along the very roads above described, up to Washington's camp on Harlem Heights.

For a long time the little hamlet of upper and lower Greenwich—the upper at the foot of present Christopher, the lower of present Spring Street—grew slowly. But before the century closed both Greenwich and Chelsea achieved a great stimulus from the sudden inflow of refugees from the city, where the yellow fever raged in 1791, in 1795, and with fury in 1798. Moreover, the opening of a state's prison here in 1798 brought an increase of population not quite desirable perhaps, but which was acceptable to the then remote settlement.

Notwithstanding the serene and matchless beauty of the Hudson, nowhere more majestic than here, many preferred the East River, with its pretty islands, its bold black rocks, its rapid currents, and the ever shifting panorama of the contrary waters. The bold bluff of the island front from Hell Gate to Crown Point was crested with summer residences. Gallatin, who came to the city by sail in a Newport sloop through Long Island Sound in 1783, was delighted with the beauty of the country seats which lined the banks. Moreover, the East River had its charms for the housekeeper. Nowhere were such lobsters to be caught as at the Black Rock, nowhere such native oysters as at the Saddle Rock, nowhere such tautog as in these cold eddying waters, nowhere such clams as at the mouths of the creeks as far as Little Neck on the Long Island shore. In Ratzer's map of 1767 the seats of the East River are those of I. Kettaltas and the large estates of John Watts, to which a long avenue of trees led from the King's Bridge Road, where the gate stood at the present corner of Twenty-ninth Street and

Fourth Avenue. On the line of the river at the point of land was the farm of Peter Stuyvesant, and to the southwest, on a slightly higher plateau, were those of Gerard and Nicholas Stuyvesant, a large estate of meadows and lands reaching to the present Third Avenue. The salt meadows extended to Crown Point or Collier's Hook, where Thomas Jones, Esq., had his seat. There is no note of any further estates or residences on the southern bank of the Hook until the Rutgers Farm in the limits of the city proper is found.¹⁰

On Kitchener's map of 1782 we find, beginning at Hell Gate, on Horn's Hook, a high bluff, where enormous balsam poplars, already a hundred years old a century ago, made a landmark for the boatsman. The elegant mansion, tasteful and well proportioned, which Jacob Walton built for his bride, Polly Cruger, in 1760, is still standing. When General Charles Lee took charge of the defense of New York in 1776, he dislodged the poor lady, who left her beautiful home in tears. From that time until 1783 it was a military post; it then passed into the hands of a tavern keeper. In 1786 it was advertised for sale, and at that time or soon after was purchased by the great merchant, Archibald Gracie, who about 1794 removed the fortifications. Again restored, it became the most beautiful mansion on the river; as the site is certainly one of the finest in the country. Its precise location is between Eighty-eighth and Eighty-ninth streets—it was then about seven miles from the city. It communicated by lanes, northwesterly and southwesterly, with the road to King's Bridge. It later was the country home of the Foulkes.

At Turtle Bay was the Beekman House, where Sir Henry Clinton had his summer headquarters in 1780, and where

10. There is an interesting testimony to the great number of country residents on the East River in a letter of one Lieutenant Heinrichs, a Hessian officer, dated from "Harlem, five English miles from the city of New York, and one hundred yards from Hornburg on the East River," September 18, 1776. Badly wounded, he sought refuge in a modest house, although he says "I could have chosen palaces."

he parted with Andre, the adjutant-general of the British army, when that unfortunate man started to meet his fate on the gallows. It is singular to note that it was in the greenhouse of this same mansion that Hale was brought upon his capture, and from here that he was led to a like doom. The story has the element of fate of a Greek tragedy. A short distance from Turtle Bay is Kipp's Bay, where the British landed in 1776, but there seem to have been no buildings there. Kitchener notes the seats of Keteltas and Watts, with the small inlet between them; a lane to the King's Bridge Road, about a mile back from the water, and a like lane from the Stuyvesants to the Bowery. Between Turtle Bay and Hell Gate were the summer homes of also the families of Kip, LeRoy, Arden, Van Zandt, Jones, Lawrence, Riker, Marston, Schermerhorn, Rhineland, and others before the middle of the last century.¹¹

At the close of the century (1797) Colonel Marinus Willett, the hero of Fort Stanwix, had his cottage at Crown Point and his wharf at the present foot of de Lancey Street. Cannon's Ferry ran thence to the Long Island shore, a mile across. On the south side, and west of the hook, was the large Rutgers farm.

In addition to these then suburban residences, but not indicated on the plans under consideration, being beyond their limits, was the seat and residence of General Horatio Gates, the victor of Saratoga. This genial old gentleman, now in his seventy-second year, but fond of good company and good friends, of whom he had no lack (he died in 1806), had his country seat at Rose Hill, which lay on the right of the main Post Road.

A still more illustrious worthy of the Revolution, Alexander Hamilton, lived at "The Grange." This handsome house stood at about the corner of One Hundred and Forty-

11. The Rhineland farm-house on the line of present Ninety-first Street, between Second and Third avenues, was the only building in that quarter.

first Street and Convent Avenue, on what is now called Hamilton Terrace. The name was no doubt given to it by Hamilton in memory of his old commander in the Light Infantry, General Lafayette, whose French chateau was called LaGrange. In front of his house, which from its elevation commanded a view of the Hudson, Hamilton planted with his own hands a cluster of thirteen gum trees, it is said, in memory of the thirteen original states of the Union. The trees are still standing. They were purchased some years since with a view to their preservation, and in the hope that with the house restored to its original site a fine square might include them all.

"Minto," the seat of Sir Andrew Elliot, was on the Bowery Road near the site of the Stewart (Wanamaker) building on Fourth Avenue. Art Street (now Astor Place), the eastern beginning of the cross-road from the Bowery Road to Greenwich, skirted its southern limit. This gentleman, who had served as collector of the port of New York and lieutenant-governor during the war, had won the affections of the people by his kindness to the American prisoners, and his property escaped confiscation. He left the city and died in Scotland in 1797. His seat, which he named after his kinsman, the earl of Minto, became the residence of Captain Robert R. Randall, who later gave the entire tract and some adjacent land to found that noble charity, the Sailors' Snug Harbor. He called the New York House the "Mansion House." Sailors' Snug Harbor stood here in 1809.

"Incleberg,"¹² the high ground now Murray Hill, was the farm-house and homestead of Robert Murray, a celebrated

12. The minutes of the common council, published in 1905, give something of the history of this noted spot. Its correct name was "Inclamen-Bergh." In a transaction made by the corporation the name is spelled "Inclaemberg," described as lying in the Bowery division near the highway. There was a bridge and a stream across it on the land. A part of it was leased by the city for brick kilns. In 1771 a lease was made of a part of the property to Robert Murray. The common council minutes, as published, stop at 1776, but the land has since been known as Murray Hill.

merchant of the colonial days. At this house, it is said, Mrs. Murray entertained Lord Howe and his officers on their entrance into New York, long enough to allow of the escape of Putnam with the troops from the lower part of the city. This is a pretty story, but general officers do not march in front of their troops and hardly before their light infantry has scoured the country well in advance. Robert Murray married Mary Lindley. "Bellevue," a beautiful seat on the river, was occupied by a son of Robert Murray of "Inleberg," the celebrated Lindley Murray the grammarian. The rear of "Bellevue" was bounded by First Avenue and the grounds extended from Twenty-fifth to Twenty-eighth streets. Bellevue Hospital now occupies the site.

On the map of 1789 a site appears as the residence in the Out Ward of Mr. Jones. The seat of Mr. Rutgers fronts the river, with Charlotte Street on the south and no street designated either on the north or east; its inland front was on Cherry Street. East of the Rutgers farm and north of Collier's Hook or Crown Point was the seat of Mr. Byvanks.¹³

Notwithstanding the charms of the river front, many New York gentlemen preferred the shore of Long Island, although at this period it was at times somewhat inaccessible. Mr. John Delafield had a beautiful place at Ravenswood or Sunswick, which later was occupied by Colonel George Gibbs, who had married a daughter of Oliver Wolcott, Hamilton's successor in the treasury department. The elegant mansion, with its large and fertile farm in the rear and

13. One can hardly realize today that Manhattan Island was covered with hills and dales, sand hills and hills with heavy rock foundations. The common council minutes show that some progress had been made in the grading of the streets and their paving as high up as the upper line of the Park in the colonial period. In the absence of any printed city ordinances beyond 1776, it is difficult to ascertain what further progress was made. It is in my memory that Broadway even below Houston Street was a succession of rising and falling ground.

a beautiful garden with steps to the river side in the front, was later the Convent of the Sacred Heart.

"Mount Bonaparte," at Hallet's Cove, now Astoria, was the name of the country seat of General Ebenezer Stevens, a continental officer; a large farm and commodious house, with terraces to the river road, which encircled it. The bodies of the Halletts and of the Indian chiefs, the old proprietors of the land, reposed in a rural cemetery in the orchard. Its name was given to it at the time of its purchase, when Bonaparte, the famous young captain of artillery, had begun his wonderful career of victory. The name of the great Corsican was later dropped, but the place retained the name of the "Mount" for more than a century. The old house was the home of the Halletts, and the land was an original grant of the Dutch governor Stuyvesant.¹⁴

14. The one mile stone, marking that distance from the City Hall at the Park, stood till quite late in the last century on the west side of Broadway, a few feet below Houston Street.

WILLIAM PENN.

BY MRS. C. F. MCLEAN.

THE two remarkable points in the history of William Penn are, first, the great influence his life and character have had on the history of America—and yet how very short a period of his life was spent in this country; and second, how small attention has been given to his labors in Europe—and yet how many, varied, and fruitful they were.

The more we study the lives of our great men, the closer is forced upon us the conviction that we must most cautiously accept the judgments of English historians in regard to them. Since Macaulay wrote of Penn in his "History of England," it has been proved that he allowed himself to accept material absolutely false: he even confounds William Penn—on the strength of one short letter—with an obscure broker of court favors who spelled his name with a final *e*. Any historian who believes that oppression and injustice to any class of people were necessary and advisable, at a certain time, in order that a better administration could be secured later along, is hardly one whose judgment should be accepted without reserve. Macaulay wishes to prove that the state church of England was right in persecuting Quakers and nonconformists with the Roman Catholics, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and, starting with that belief, he eagerly seeks out every pretext to belittle those who at that time did not think as Macaulay thought they should have thought. He therefore intimates that Penn was secretly a Jesuit, or at least a hypocritical courtier, who at one time was looked upon askance by his own people. Recent researches among

state papers, other original manuscripts, and biographies have proved that Macaulay was entirely wrong in his insinuations, and that the character as well as the achievements of William Penn stand out brighter, clearer, and more colossal as the lime light of truth shines fuller upon them. He was not only a great man of his day, but one of the great men of all time: a seer, a prophet of all humanity, with views centuries ahead of his day, but views that the world is slowly though surely growing up to accept and practice.

The grandfather of William Penn was a merchant sea-captain and designed his son for the navy; that son, the father of William Penn, was at twenty-three a rear admiral of the straits. These honors were acquired when Cromwell was lord protector of England, and it was Penn who, first of English admirals, aided him in humbling the pride of Spain, Holland, and Portugal on the high seas. He was the first to bring down the flag of the great Dutch admiral Van Trompe, and many were his other victories on many seas; he it was who raised the English flag on the island of Jamaica, and he was thus able to talk knowingly to his son of the wonders of the new world. For his services, Cromwell, who was at that time parcelling out conquered Ireland, gave Admiral Penn a large estate in that country, and although the admiral, like most men of those happy times, took his turn in a dungeon and in the Tower, yet, take it all in all, he was in highest favor and was far more secure than many others. At the same time, he watched the signs of the times as well as the weather, and feeling assured that when Cromwell died there would be no one to succeed him in his power—with the ghost of Charles stalking through the minds of the people,—he opened up communication with the exiled princes then living in Holland; so at the Restoration he was able to welcome them to England. That Charles and James were always grateful to Admiral Penn and his family, I think very much to their credit and not to their

discredit, as Macaulay seems to think, and that they trusted the Penns more than those who turned to them as soon as they landed is not to be wondered at.

William Penn, the first of the three children of Admiral Penn, was born October 12, 1644, and all was bright and lovely in his life until his eleventh year, when his father was imprisoned in the Tower. However, his unhappiness did not last long, and, thoroughly educated and prepared, at eighteen William Penn entered Oxford College. Charles II. had then recently come to the throne, and Admiral Penn was in prospect of a peerage from that good-natured monarch. He was then at the head of the admiralty, but the intrigues of Rupert and Monk, men whom he had at one time defeated, prevented his going again to sea in supreme command. He therefore served his monarch at home. He not only allowed his salary to accumulate, but loaned the always royal spendthrift and his impecunious brother much of the revenue of the estates which he had inherited from the thrifty sea-captain, and by grants from Cromwell for his services as admiral. The piling up of this debt to Admiral Penn became the key to many outwardly strange situations, and the granting to William Penn of a province in America.

While Penn was at Oxford he heard Thomas Loe preach—one of the most eloquent of the followers of George Fox, the founder of the new sect of Quakers. He was so much impressed that in adopting the beliefs of the Quakers he used those ways of expressing them which led him to disregard some of the many ridiculous regulations which grew up in institutions of learning where the church and state are in unholy union. William Penn was expelled from Oxford, and his father's grief and anger were both deep and bitter. The counsels of friends prevailed with the father, however, and he sent his son on the grand tour. He studied for a while with a Huguenot divine in the south of France, and then traveled extensively in Germany, Italy,

and Holland. He became a great linguist, and to German, French, and Italian, he added a perfect acquaintance with the Dutch language. While abroad he first met Algernon Sidney, a great soldier and statesman of Cromwell's time, who had endeavored to prevent the execution of Charles I., but who would not renounce his principles at the Restoration, and was therefore at that time in exile.

Returning to England, we now find Penn more the handsome and accomplished scholar and courtier than a deeply religious man, much to his father's delight, who thought that all he then considered worth striving for was in his son's future. The son then studied law in the Temple, and, as proved afterwards, with abundant understanding. He next left for Ireland to look after the Irish estates of his father, and at the suggestion of the king and the duke of York, to pay a visit to the viceregal court of the duke of Ormond in Dublin. There William Penn even donned a uniform in expectation of entering the army, and so pleased were his friends at his appearance that he had his portrait painted, and the only authentic portrait of William Penn the Quaker—which is still in possession of his descendants—is that of the strikingly handsome soldier of the viceregal court of Dublin. There seems to have been a special providence in this preliminary life and education of William Penn; in after years, when such knowledge was of vital importance, he of all the prominent Quakers seems to have been the only one acquainted with the ways of the court and with the methods necessary to reach and influence those in power.

One day, while staying in Cork, he learned that his old Oxford friend Loe was to preach that evening. Curious to hear again one who had at that time greatly influenced him, Penn was in the audience. That night was the turning point of his career. Henceforth he was William Penn the Quaker preacher (or speaker, I believe they call them), ready to suffer martyrdom for his faith, if need be, but

yet more ready to live and battle for it with tongue and pen and fortune.

The story of his banishment from his father's house, his arrests, trials, and imprisonments is an interesting one, but too long to more than mention here. His mother remained true to her son, and after the reconciliation with his father was partially accomplished, William Penn went again to the Irish estates. In the closing months of his father's life the reconciliation was complete; the father cared less for his waning glories, and appreciated fully the noble, self-sacrificing character of the son. William Penn had positively refused to accept a peerage, and his father had been therefore constrained to refuse it. The obligations to the king and the duke of York were consequently piling up unpaid, and when the admiral—still a young man—felt death approaching, he sent for Prince James, duke of York, and begged him to be a guardian and friend to his son, which James promised to do, and he kept his word. Penn, in his advocacy of the Quaker faith, had traveled extensively, not only in England, Ireland, and Scotland, but on the continent. He had written books and pamphlets, had been tried and imprisoned, and finally, having been put in a dungeon in the Tower by the Bishop of London, the personal favor of James had brought him thence to his father's bedside.

At one trial, when William Penn and another Quaker were brought before a judge, Penn demanded a jury, and the defense he made before that body was one of the greatest contests for the most sacred right of Englishmen, trial by jury. When the jury found the two Quakers innocent of sediton and treason, the judge shut them up for thirty hours without even bread or water. Still they would give no other answer. Again they were confined as before, until some lost their minds, but yet the foreman said the word "innocent." All the jury were imprisoned, but when Penn,

through his influence, brought their case before higher judges, they were acquitted.

In the spring of 1672 William Penn married Guli Springett, whose father had died a soldier of the commonwealth, and whose mother in second wedlock had become the wife of Isaac Pennington, the great friend and biographer of Milton. Penn and other prominent Quakers were among the intimate friends of the poet. Penn's wife was as devout a Quaker as her husband, and never objected to his constant preaching, traveling, and writing, his efforts for the release of condemned Quakers, and paying their fines. Among Penn's converts to the Quaker faith was Elizabeth, electress of the Palatine, sister of that Prince Rupert of the Rhine, celebrated in Macaulay's verse, whose baneful influence on the royal brothers of England was long enduring. That William Penn was not thinking of his own advantage at this time is abundantly proved by the fact that during five years after the death of his father he did not once visit court. When, at last, in order to secure favor for others, he did finally present himself before the king and his brother, according to Pepys himself, James reproached him for having so long neglected his guardian and his friend. So much for Macaulay's hypocritical courtier.

During all these years, Penn's thoughts often turned to a refuge for the oppressed of his own sect and others in the new world; on his visit to Holland it was at his suggestion that so many migrated from there. At last, through William Penn's being made trustee of the interests of those with claims against the proprietors of lands now in New Jersey and Delaware, he took more active interest in sending colonists over the ocean. The king of England, during a war, took possession of the Dutch colonies in the New World and gave them to his brother, the duke of York; also Lord Baltimore received a grant of land with the Chesapeake Bay as entrance harbor for the refuge of persecuted Catholics. Meantime Algernon Sidney had returned to England,

and Penn had aided with voice and pen for his election to parliament. It seems a little strange to us of today to learn that at the time Penn was laboring for religious toleration and freedom, there were in England so many believers in a republican form of government, and so many of that faith were returned to parliament that it was dissolved and persecution followed persecution until, when Penn was first in America, that persecution sent his beloved friend Sidney to the block. The failure of all measures of reform, of all hope for better conditions under the renewed persecutions of all non-conformists that followed the Popish plot of Titus Oates and Monmouth's rebellion, made Penn again think of America, and that time most conclusively. Remembering the large debt of the crown to his father, he asked that the debt be canceled by a grant of land in America. It was given him, and he was made governor of the province. Algernon Sidney suggested the name Pennsylvania, and Penn named its city, as yet unborn, Philadelphia. It is of course well known that the ideas of the geography of the new world were not very distinct. The rivers emptying on the coast were at least partly known, but little or nothing of the exact extent of the territory between them. Grants overlapped, and a settlement of boundary lines was a fruitful source of trouble until revolutionary times. Lord Baltimore at once claimed that the grant to William Penn encroached upon his. Penn and Sidney drew up the plan of government for the new province; of course all legislation was subject to the later approval of the king's councillors. Penn called his plan of government "The Holy Experiment." He believed that all classes of men were entitled to all freedom that did not encroach upon the rights of others, and that representatives elected by all men of the community could make better laws than any other persons could make for them. Penn granted to all those who should settle in the colony absolute freedom for the worship of their religion, and especially and first of all he declared that

the Indians should be treated with absolute justice and fairness and that they should be paid for their lands by the white settlers.

Of course all these arrangements took time, and yet within a comparatively short period after Penn was known as governor of a large tract of land in America, emigrants flocked from the Thames, the Zuyder Zee, the Elbe, and the Rhine to the banks of the Delaware. Penn sent out his cousin, Colonel Markham, as lieutenant-governor to make peace with the Indians in his name, to settle amicably the boundary lines with Lord Baltimore, and to put into execution the adopted plan of government for his province. Meantime the demand on his time and efforts at home for the benefit of his people greatly increased, and later the death of his mother aided in delaying Penn's departure for America. He had decided to leave his wife and his three children in England with such wise friends and counsellors as the Penningtons and the Elwells.

On September 1, 1682, the good ship "Welcome," carrying three hundred tons, bore down the Thames and put to sea with the governor of the province at last on his way to the banks of the Delaware. There on that river his home was already abuilding, and Penn took over his doors and window-frames. Before sailing himself he had sent out three commissioners with later instructions, especially regarding the treaties with the Indians, and their names we should remember. They were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. The duke of York had behaved like a prince to his ward, and doubtless saw Penn leave England with real regret. The two royal brothers were surrounded by so few honest men. The ship on which Penn sailed had a frightful voyage, owing to the smallpox, and thirty of those on board were buried at sea. Penn doctored, nursed, and consoled the living, and said the prayers over the dead. On October 27 the ship sailed up the Delaware and first anchored at the Swedish settlement of Newcastle. This

settlement was inhabited by the descendants of the colonists sent out by Gustavus Adolphus. The "Welcome" then sailed on to Upland, which name Penn changed to Chester, and so it has remained. Great and prolonged was the rejoicing at the arrival of the governor, everywhere he saw the fruits of the wisdom of his form of government in the peace, plenty, and happiness of the settlers. Penn at once summoned the general assembly, and although this body met later than the house of burgesses of Virginia, it carried out more completely the principles of representative government. Penn summoned the Indian chiefs to meet him in order to cement forever the friendly intercourse they had enjoyed with the people of his province; under the spreading elm on the banks of the Delaware, Tamarint, the great chief of the Lenapa Lenape, brought other chiefs of his own and neighboring tribes to meet the white father of whom they had heard so much. There Penn entered into a solemn treaty with the Indians, confirming the just and peaceful intentions of his people and their desire for just and friendly relations with the Indians. Voltaire says of this Penn treaty, "It is the only treaty that was not sworn to, and the only treaty ever kept." A historian, writing in 1850, says, "Not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian." That statement is true to this time. During the great Sioux uprising in the northwest, in the massacres, two classes of agents were spared and sent to safety—the Quakers and the Catholic priests. Penn saw his beautiful home on the Delaware partly laid out and building, and saw the first rapid growth of his own city of Brotherly Love, and then stirring news took him back to England.

He was thirty-eight years old when he signed the treaty with the Indians, and a few years older when, in 1684, he again took up his work in his native land. To understand why he remained so much in England when he longed to return to America, we must glance at the political conditions in England at that time. Charles was reigning when

Penn returned. With the death of Charles II. and the accession of James the Catholic, all the energy of persecution of Catholic, nonconformist, and Quaker broke out afresh and with renewed bitterness. The Test Act was the legal instrument of torture, and those who refused to subscribe to it were thrown into dungeons by hundreds. James, who had himself endured persecution, claimed—and there is no evidence to the contrary—that he desired the repeal of the Test Act, and while waiting for parliament to repeal it he promulgated his Act of Indulgence. Penn, who wished above all things to secure religious toleration, was a close friend and bold advisor of the king. James could not prevent the arrest and imprisonment of his subjects, but he could pardon them out of their jails and dungeons. To secure the pardon of the Quakers, to pay their fines, to send them to America, to take up the defense of the liberty of worship in pamphlets, discussing it even with the bishops of the established church, was Penn's constant work after his return to England.

Nor was the ownership of his province always secure; the correct account of the taking away, the returning, the transferring of his province, and the persecutions connected with his ownership, would fill a volume. Let it be said, though, that James kept his royal word, and always acted toward Penn openly, fairly, and honestly. Boards of trade, acts of parliament and of council, were used to deprive Penn of his province, but not any act of King James; that he was sincere and honest in this respect is perhaps what Macaulay could not believe or endure. Penn lost his dear wife Guli, and during a portion of these years in England it was with difficulty that his friends could rouse him from his sorrow. There is abundant evidence to prove that William Penn endeavored to dissuade James from forcing on the ministers of the established church the reading of his Act of Indulgence in their churches, and the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of the bishops. Penn had also, in

the meantime, traveled in Holland, preaching there, and he boldly warned the king of the feeling of the English exiles and the hopes of securing the English crown for William of Orange. At one time he nearly persuaded the king to listen only to his advice, but James was led by foreign Jesuits, who were the worst possible guides for a king of England. He was sent into exile, and William and Mary reigned in England. To disprove the assertion that Penn was secretly a Jesuit is the fact that he was the only courtier of James to remain quietly in London under the new monarchs. The province of Pennsylvania was taken from him and then restored, but the decline and death of his older and dearly loved son, Springett, again delayed his departure for America. He married a second time and was equally fortunate in this choice. His wife's name was Hannah Callowhill, and they were married in 1696. The children of Penn then living were William and Letitia; the living children of his second wife were Dennis, Richard, Thomas, and John. His second wife and grown up daughter, Letitia, did not care to remove to the banks of the Delaware, so during six more years after Penn was restored by William and Mary to the government of his province, he delayed his departure for America. In one of his numerous preaching tours he became acquainted with and preached to the Czar of Russia, then in Holland learning ship building.

In September, 1699, Penn again sailed for America, and with him went all his family save his son William. The latter seems to have been the admiral *redivivus*, without his better qualities. Then during three years Penn lived on his fine estate about three miles from the rapidly growing city of Philadelphia, in a home perfect in its appointments and with both doors open to the visitor and the stranger. To this home the Indians came at all times, and there is no record of their giving the slightest misunderstanding of the laws of hospitality. They never molested a traveler in their forest, and as trade with them was conducted on a

fair basis, everyone in Pennsylvania grew rich and prosperous and entirely free from the harassing inroads and fears suffered by the settlers in other colonies. Although hoping to end his days in his beautiful home, directing yet not governing the province, because he had taught them to govern themselves, and the colonists were living under a new constitution they had enacted, Penn was obliged to return to England. Later, his son William went to the manor on the Delaware as the representative and heir of his father, but he was an unworthy son and heir, and he too returned to England. There he married and abandoned his wife and children to the care of his father, and it is not known where he ended his days. The troubles that took Penn to England were those connected with the management of his estate there. An unworthy steward, a wolf in the fold of the Quakers, had by wicked fraud brought the owner of the magnificent province of Pennsylvania to the door of a debtor's prison. Penn had never drawn any revenue from the province, and what he spent there was his own money derived from his Irish and English estates. It is to be recorded with shame that when he appealed to his settlers for a little aid to rescue him from the embarrassment brought on by his agents, there was at first no response, but when he told them he would be obliged to sell the province to the crown there was a quick and generous action in his favor. There were always so many influences at work in the different provinces at that time, and the long intervals of communication produced so great confusion that the mistakes made by the colonists of Pennsylvania must be charitably judged.

Some there were who tried to make Penn believe all the troubles came from his granting too much liberty, but no one ever convinced him of that. However, when at last his difficulties were over, when after the death of William and Mary he had such great friends at court as the duchess and the duke of Marlborough, and his Irish and English

estates, as well as the province of Pennsylvania, were restored to him, the sensitive soul of Penn, that had suffered through treachery and misunderstanding, had become so bruised that only during a few years did he enjoy comfort and peace in full possession of his powers. He was still hoping to return to his home on the Delaware when he was stricken with paralysis. Five years longer he lingered in that state so beautifully called by the French "innocent." His wife took up the management of all his affairs, even to the direction of business in Pennsylvania, and he lived in a state of happiness, playing with his younger children and grandchildren, until in 1718 he breathed his last, and the heart of every Quaker in the world paid a tribute of love and respect for William Penn.

Of his published works, "No Cross, No Crown," is so frequently read as to require a new edition. Of his political pamphlets, they have been the storehouse whence others have drawn their best ammunition. Penn laid out the city of Philadelphia as it remains today; broad, intersecting streets with parks and market-places; and had not personal cupidity triumphed over his plans, there would be a breathing space for every inhabitant of Philadelphia within a short walk of his home. History is full of poetical averages. Three centuries after Penn preached the gospel of peace to Peter the Great in Holland, his successor on the throne of Russia summoned the representatives of the different governments of the world to a Peace Congress, and that Peace Congress was held in Holland.

But what more convincing of the truth and benefits of his Holy Experiment than that from the bell on which was printed, "Proclaim Peace throughout all the World to all the Inhabitants Thereof," in the Quaker city of Penn, in the city of Brotherly Love, there should ring out the joyous tones proclaiming to the world that thirteen colonies had declared for the Declaration of Independence and that, there in that city, should have been set the seal of the approval of the world for Penn's Holy Experiment?

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

(Continued.)

From Rigdon to Smith via P. P. Pratt.

WHEN to this evidence already adduced is added, as will be done, conclusive proof of the identity of the salient features of the Book of Mormon and Spaulding's rewritten "Manuscript Found," it would seem that the case of plagiarism through Rigdon's complicity is established beyond reasonable doubt. The Mormon objector, however, insists that no possible connection between Rigdon and Smith has ever been shown to exist prior to 1830, and that, therefore, even if Rigdon did steal the manuscript, Smith could not have obtained it for use as a help in preparing the Book of Mormon. It would seem as if the facts above recited should, even if unaided by more direct evidence, raise an almost conclusive presumption of the existence of an undiscovered connection between the two. But we are not confined to an inference from such evidence alone. There are still more pointed evidentiary circumstances to which we will now give attention.

Parley Parker Pratt was born at Burlington, Otsego County, N. Y., April 12, 1807, of parents who later resided at Canaan, Columbia County, N. Y.⁸⁵ During his sixth year (1813) he went to reside with his father's sister, named Van Cott,⁸⁶ which name afterward became conspicuous in the early history of Utah. In 1826 Pratt spent a few months with an uncle in Wayne (formerly Ontario) County, N. Y.⁸⁷ This, it will be remembered, is the same county in which

Smith was at that time gaining much newspaper notoriety as a "peep-stone" money digger⁸⁸ through mention made of him in papers published in several counties in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ While Smith was thus working the gullible of his neighborhood with his necromancy, Pratt was a peddler, who, it is said, knew almost everybody in western New York.⁹⁰ At that time Ontario County took in all the territory of several counties as now bounded, and in 1820 had only a population of 80,267.⁹¹ Pratt, therefore, could hardly have helped knowing Smith's fame, which was such as at once to have suggested him as the star actor in any scheme of fraud requiring a prophet. In view of Pratt's subsequent connection with the Wells family,⁹² who were Smith's neighbors and friends,⁹³ it is more than probable that he knew the Smiths personally in or prior to 1826, although, of course, they would carefully guard the fact of such acquaintance from publicity as a most important secret.

In October of this year Pratt went to Ohio, locating at Amherst, thirty miles west of Cleveland⁹⁴ and was also located fifty miles west of Kirtland.⁹⁵ One of the temptations inducing Pratt's departure from New York was to get to a country where, as he himself expresses it, there is "no law to sweep [away] all the hard earnings of years to pay a small debt."⁹⁶ The ethical status of an average country peddler who is willing to leave his native state to avoid the payment of his "small debts" furnishes a fertile immorality in which to plant the seeds of religious imposture.

It will be remembered that it was also in 1826 that Rigdon went for a second time to reside in Ohio, where he became an itinerant "Disciple" preacher, laboring in the vicinity of Bainbridge, Mantua, Kirtland, Mentor, Chester, New Lisbon, and Warren,⁹⁷ at some of which places Rigdon had an unsavory reputation.⁹⁸ Rigdon and Pratt, therefore, were in the same neighborhood in 1826, and undoubtedly met soon after. The date of their first meeting is nowhere given,

but may reasonably be inferred from an address delivered by Parley P. Pratt in 1843 or '4. In this discourse Pratt tells of an occurrence which transpired on his way to his future Ohio home, which occurrence furnishes the key to his first connection with Mormonism. On his way he stopped at a humble cottage, the name of whose occupant he carefully fails to give. Here, while asleep (so he says), "a messenger of a mild and intelligent countenance suddenly stood before me [Pratt], arrayed in robes of dazzling splendor." According to Mormon theology, an angel is but an exalted man.⁹⁹ Of course Sidney Rigdon was an exalted man; why not, then, an angel? This angel claimed to hold the keys to the mysteries of this wonderful country, and took Pratt out to exhibit those mysteries to him. Pratt then had portrayed to his mind the whole future of Mormonism; its cities, with inhabitants from all parts of the globe; its temples, with a yet unattained splendor; its present church organization was, with considerable definiteness, outlined; its political ambition to establish a temporal kingdom of God on the ruins of this government was set forth with quite as much definiteness as in the subsequent more publicly uttered, treasonable sermons.¹⁰⁰ I conclude from the exact manner in which this "Angel of the Prairies" foreknew the ambitions, hopes, and future achievements of the Mormon Church and the similar admitted foreknowledge of Rigdon and the subsequently established connection between Rigdon, Pratt, and Smith, that the "Angel of the Prairies" who outlined to Pratt his then contemplated and now executed religious fraud, was none other than Sidney Rigdon himself, and that this fact accounts for Pratt's failure to give the name of his host or the date of his first meeting with Rigdon.¹⁰¹

Lambdin, who, by some, has been suspected of once having been Rigdon's partner in the contemplated fraud, died August 1, 1825. Engles, Patterson's foreman, died July 17, 1827. Spaulding had died in 1816, and Robert Patter-

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son, it seems, knew nothing personally of the contents of the Spaulding manuscript,¹⁰² which fact Rigdon probably well knew through his intimate acquaintance with Lambdin. In September of 1827 the time was, therefore, as ripe as it was ever likely to be for active preparation in the matter of bringing forth the "Book of Mormon," since probably all those having any intimate knowledge of the "Manuscript Found" had conveniently died.

In 1827 Pratt started back to New York for the purpose of getting married. Now, remember, this was nearly three years before the advent of Mormonism. Pratt reached the home of his aunt Van Cott July 4, 1827, and in his autobiography records a summary of a conversation with his future wife thus: "I also opened my religious views to her and my desire, which I sometimes had, to try and teach the red man."¹⁰³ In October, 1830, within a month after Pratt's professed conversion to Mormonism, a revelation was received for Pratt, in which the Lord, through "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," directed Pratt to carry out this very design.¹⁰⁴ The desire which Pratt thus expressed to his wife three years before the advent of Mormonism was afterward and for a long time the pet scheme of all Mormons. Pratt was married September 9, 1827.¹⁰⁵ On September 22, 1827, a "heavenly messenger" appeared to Joseph Smith and unfolded to him the scheme of the Book of Mormon, and disclosed the whereabouts of the "Golden Plates."¹⁰⁶ This "heavenly messenger" is called the Angel Moroni. According to Mormon theology, "God may use any beings he has made or that he pleases, and call them his angels, or messengers."¹⁰⁷ "God's angels and men are all of one species, one race, one great family."¹⁰⁸ "God is a man like unto yourselves; that is the great secret."¹⁰⁹ Why, of course! "That is the great secret." God is but an "exalted man," and may call Parley Parker Pratt his angel. Parley Parker Pratt was the "heavenly messenger," the angel who, on that day (September 22, 1827),

don were acquainted for a considerable time before Mormonism was first heard of."¹¹⁵

I have been able to find but one specific denial of Rigdon's acquaintance with Smith prior to the appearance of the Book of Mormon. That denial comes from Katherine Salisbury, a sister of the "Prophet Joseph," and is dated April 15, 1881, when she was nearly 68 years of age. She says that

"Prior to the latter part of the year A. D. 1830, there was no person who visited with, or was an acquaintance of, or called upon the said family [of Smith], or any member thereof to my knowledge by the name of Rigdon, nor was such person known to the family or any member thereof to my knowledge, until the last part of the year A. D. 1830, or the first part of the year 1831. I remember the time when Sidney Rigdon came to my father's place, and that it was after the removal of my father from Waterloo, N. Y., to Kirtland, O. That this was in the year 1831."¹¹⁶

In 1827 and 1828, when Rigdon's visits must have occurred, and his help was needed in revamping Spaulding's "Manuscript Found," this woman was fourteen or fifteen years of age. That Rigdon did visit at the Smiths in New York State, December, 1830, is admitted,¹¹⁷ and of this she seemingly remembers nothing. She has no recollection of Rigdon's coming to her father's or brother's house until after their removal to Ohio. May she not also, either by design or otherwise, have forgotten visits made by Rigdon to her New York home prior to the admitted, and, by her, forgotten one in December, 1830?

In the same statement she avers that "at the time of the publication of said Book [of Mormon], my brother Joseph Smith, Jr., lived in the family of my father in the town of Manchester, Ontario County, N. Y., and that he had all of his life to this time made his home with the family."

The manuscript of the Book of Mormon was finished and the book copyrighted by June 11, 1829.¹¹⁸ Rigdon's help would be most needed before this time, and from June, 1828, until June, 1829, all and numerous revelations are dated "Harmony, Pennsylvania," which, together with

Smith's autobiography, shows that he did not all of his life-time make his home with his parents, nor live at Manchester during all of the most important period of Mormon incubation. The probabilities are that Smith moved to Pennsylvania at this time, for the very purpose of making it easier for Rigdon and Pratt, who lived in Ohio, to furnish him the much needed help.

The admitted errors in Mrs. Salisbury's statement destroy its evidentiary value, and leave it clearly demonstrated by the other evidence adduced, that Rigdon visited Smith several years before the appearance of the Book of Mormon.

The Conversion of Parley P. Pratt.

In the summer of 1830 the Book of Mormon came from the press, and the time had come for Pratt and Rigdon to be astonished by its appearance. Now watch their maneuvers. That year Pratt left Ohio for a visit to New York. Of this trip his autobiography records the following:

"Landing in Buffalo, we [Pratt and wife] engaged our passage for Albany in a canal boat, distance three hundred and sixty miles. This, including board, cost all our money and some articles of clothing."

Would a mere desire to visit friends induce him to give up part of his clothing for passage money? Hardly; he was after larger game. But let us read on:

"Arriving at Rochester, I informed my wife that, notwithstanding our passage being paid through the whole distance, yet I must leave the boat and leave her to pursue her passage to our friends, while I would stop a while in this region. *Why, I did not know*; but so it was plainly manifest by the Spirit to me. I said to her: 'We part for a season; go and visit our friends in our native place; I will come soon, but how soon I know not. *for I have a work to do in this region of country, and what it is or how long it will take me to perform it, I know not*; but I will come when it is performed. My wife would have objected to this, but she had seen the *Hand of God* so plainly manifest in His dealings with me many times that she dare not oppose the things manifest to me by His Spirit. She therefore consented, and I accompanied her as far as Newark, a small

town upwards of a hundred miles from Buffalo, and then took leave of her and of the boat."

"It was early in the morning, just at the dawn of day. I walked ten miles into the country [remember now he doesn't know where he is going], and stopped with a Mr. Wells."

This was undoubtedly a member of the same Wells family of Macedon with whom Joseph Smith had long been on terms of intimacy.¹¹⁹ Pratt's autobiography continues:

"I proposed to preach in the evening. Mr. Wells readily accompanied me through the neighborhood to visit the people and circulate the appointment."

"We visited an old Baptist deacon by the name of Hamblin. After hearing of our appointment for the evening, he began to tell of a *book, a strange book, a very strange book* in his possession, which had just been published. I inquired of him how and where the book was to be obtained. He promised me the perusal of it at his house the next day, if I would call. I felt a strange interest in the book. Next morning I called at his house, where, for the first time, my eyes beheld the 'Book of Mormon,' that book of books."

Pratt says he opened it with eagerness and examined its contents. "As I read, *the spirit of the Lord was upon me*, and I knew and comprehended that the book was true as plainly and as manifestly as a man comprehends and knows that he exists."¹²⁰

Pratt soon determined to see Smith, and, accordingly, visited Palmyra, where Hyrum Smith welcomed him to their house, and they spent the night together. Joseph had not returned from Pennsylvania. One is led to wonder if Hyrum Smith would take in every inquisitive stranger as his bed-fellow. In the morning Pratt returned to fill his appointment to preach the doctrine of Alexander Campbell. Hyrum Smith presented Pratt with a copy of the book, which the latter tells us he was glad to receive, because he had not yet finished his reading of it.¹²¹ Pratt preached the doctrines of the "Disciples" that night and the following one, then returned to the Smith house, and from there went to the Whitmers in Seneca County, resting that night, and taking his Mormon baptism the next day. On the next Sabbath Pratt attended a Mormon meeting and preached a

Mormon sermon at the house of one Burroughs. "My work was now completed, for which I took leave of my wife and the canal boat some two or three weeks before."¹²²

About the details and the order of events in such remarkable occurrences, there could not possibly be doubt or errors of memory. Had they actually transpired, these events would have been the most important in any eventful career, and would have been indelibly impressed upon Pratt's memory. If, however, this marvelous tale is but a falsehood told to conceal Pratt's real connection with a fraud, then it is quite possible that he and those associated with him should forget how the falsehood had been told at other times, and thus produce contradictory statements.

Let us, in the light of this comment, examine the foregoing account more carefully. Evidently in this account Pratt is desirous of conveying the impression that, as he has elsewhere expressed it, he "was greatly prejudiced against the book."¹²³ However, in a sermon delivered in 1856—thirty-two years before the publication of the autobiography—Pratt tells us he was converted before completing the reading of the Book of Mormon, or meeting a single true "Saint." Here are his own words:

"I knew it was true, because it was light, and had come in fulfillment of scripture; and *I bore testimony of its truth* to the neighbors that came in *during the first day that I sat reading it* at the house of an old Baptist deacon named Hamblin."¹²⁴

Of course such a conversion was altogether too miraculous and sudden to preclude suspicion of Pratt's complicity in the fraud; hence it has usually been stated that the conversion did not, in fact, take place until much critical examination, and sometimes, it is said, after much supplication to the Lord. In Joseph Smith's autobiography he puts the time of conversion as during Pratt's visit to the Whitmers in Seneca County. Here are his words: "*After listening to the testimony of the 'witnesses' [at Whitmers, in Seneca*

County] and reading the 'Book,' he became convinced that it was of God."¹²⁵

The "prophet's" mother, who, with the mother of the Danite, Orin Porter Rockwell, was present at Pratt's alleged first visit to the Smith home,¹²⁶ has a third account of this conversion. Pratt, according to the account above quoted from his sermon, had not yet seen the prophet, and had not yet finished reading the Book of Mormon, but was already converted and had borne testimony to its truth. Now read Mother Lucy's account as published by Orson Pratt (Parley Pratt's brother and his first miraculous convert)¹²⁷ and "written by the direction and under the inspection of the Prophet."¹²⁸

"Just before my husband's return, as Joseph was about commencing a discourse one Sunday morning, Parley P. Pratt came in very much fatigued. He had *heard of us* at some considerable distance, and had traveled very fast in order to get there by meeting time, as he wished to hear what we had to say, that he might be prepared to show us our error. But when Joseph had finished his discourse, Mr. Pratt arose and expressed his hearty concurrence in every sentiment advanced. The following day he was baptized and ordained."¹²⁹

This conversion is quite as miraculous and sudden as the one Pratt tells us about as having occurred at Deacon Hamblin's. The prophet's mother, Lucy Smith, who wrote this account, and the prophet himself, under whose supervision it was written, must have been both present, and in this account related only what they pretended they themselves saw. In contradiction of this, Pratt, in two different places, tells us that while at the Whitmers in Seneca County he was baptized and ordained an elder by Oliver Cowdrey, and that then he preached a Mormon sermon, after which he went to visit his friends in Columbia County. On his return from Columbia County, over a month after he had been baptized, he for the first time saw Joseph Smith.¹³⁰ These discrepancies can be best accounted for by the explanation that they are different accounts of an event that never happened, and told to conceal one that did happen.

I understand that the Utah Mormon sect, after publishing "Mother Lucy's" book, condemned it as containing errors, but never pointed out any. The "Josephite" sect of Mormons, however, republished it. It still remains that in telling what she pretended to have seen, she told the story as at some time it had been agreed upon. Further, Lucy Smith could not have written the book, bad as it was from a literary point of view. The statement that it was written under the direct supervision of the prophet, I, therefore, consider as literally true. That it was published in 1853 by Orson Pratt and S. W. Richards, who had undoubtedly heard the stories corroborated many times and saw nothing erroneous in the book, is also significant, as is the further fact that it had been read by Saints four years before any errors were discovered.

Rigdon's Miraculous Conversion.

Pratt having been converted, the next act of importance must, of course, be the conversion of Rigdon, and, so far as possible, the congregation whose members he had so carefully prepared for the reception of Mormonism.

Pratt is still in New York State with Smith, it being October, 1830. He has already converted his relatives. The Lord, by a revelation through Joseph Smith,¹³¹ directs Pratt to go with Oliver Cowdry, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson "unto the wilderness among the Lamanites" (meaning the American Indians). Pratt, it will be remembered, had sold part of his clothing for passage money with which to travel in his quest for the Book of Mormon. He was, therefore, ill prepared for a winter trip to Ohio and Missouri. "As soon as the revelation was received, Emma Smith and several other sisters began to make arrangements to furnish those who were set apart for the mission with the necessary clothing, which was no easy task, as the most of it had to be manufactured out of the raw ma-

terial."¹³² Pratt's wife was taken to the Whitmers,¹³³ that she might not want while he was away converting Indians and Rigdon. Thus situated, Pratt took leave of his friends "late in October and started on foot."¹³⁴ According to his autobiography it was a hundred miles from Buffalo to Newark, ten miles from Newark to Macedon, where lived the Wells family,¹³⁵ and twenty-five miles from Palmyra to the Whitmers in Seneca County.¹³⁶ The distance from Buffalo to Cleveland is given as two hundred miles;¹³⁷ from Cleveland to Kirtland as thirty miles.¹³⁸ These distances were no doubt given as they were believed to be according to the roads as then traveled.

Adding fifteen miles for the distance from Macedon to Palmyra, we find the total distance to be traveled, all on foot, going from Whitmer's home in Seneca County, N. Y., to Kirtland, O., is three hundred and seventy miles, "preaching by the way,"¹³⁹ even to Indians.¹⁴⁰ When we remember the time of year and the almost certainty of inclement weather and the unimproved condition of the roads in that then wild west, it could hardly be expected that Pratt, traveling "on foot" and preaching by the way, could reach Kirtland before the middle of November. Rigdon must have been converted in great haste, because, by the end of November, he is already a Mormon visitor at Smith's home in New York, and on December 7 is the recipient of a special revelation from God.¹⁴¹ These conclusions accord with the diary of Lyman Wight, who, being baptized on the same day as Rigdon, entered the fact as on November 14, 1830.¹⁴² These facts also confirm Howe's statement that Rigdon was baptized on the second day after Pratt's arrival.¹⁴³ Another authority conversant with the occurrence, and desiring to be very exact, fixes the time as thirty-six hours after Pratt's arrival.¹⁴⁴

The Mormons are not all dull, and their cunning leaders readily saw that it would be unwise to advertise the suddenness of this conversion, since it might serve to identify the

guilty conspirators. Therefore it is now represented that Pratt and Rigdon were at first in a state of great antagonism to Mormonism, which it took weeks to overcome.¹⁴⁵ This cannot be, unless Pratt could walk three hundred and seventy miles in less than no time at all.

The facts of this sudden conversion and the subsequent concealment of its precipitate character all reveal a guilt on the part of those who are conscious of having done something they wish to keep from the knowledge of others. Had this conversion been honestly miraculous, there would have been no thought of concealment.

November 14, 1830, the date of Rigdon's baptism, was Sunday, and of course the first Sunday after the arrival of Pratt. At their first interview during this visit, Pratt requested and "readily" received permission to preach Mormonism in Rigdon's church. The prophet's account says:¹⁴⁶

"At the conclusion [of Pratt's sermon] Elder Rigdon arose and stated to the congregation that the information that they had received was of an extraordinary character, and certainly demanded their most serious consideration, and as the Apostle advised his brethren to 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' so he would exhort his brethren to do likewise, and give the matter a careful investigation, and not turn against it without being fully convinced of its being an imposition, lest they should possibly resist the truth. This was indeed generous on the part of Elder Rigdon, and gave evidence of his entire freedom from any sectarian bias."

But according to Elder Lyman Wight's diary and the other evidence here adduced, Rigdon was already a convert. Why, then, all this false suggestion and hypocritical cant about Rigdon's generosity and freedom from prejudice? There is but one answer, and that is, the authors of it are thereby attempting to conceal the real facts.

On December 7, 1830, and with due promptness, be it observed, Rigdon, through Smith, received a revelation making him (Rigdon) scribe to the prophet, and informing Rigdon how, all unconsciously to himself, he had been preparing the way for Mormonism.¹⁴⁷ This is speedily followed by another revelation,¹⁴⁸ in which Rigdon's Ohio home,

where he so carefully prepared the people for the reception of his new faith, is designated as the gathering place of the faithful, the promised land of the "Saints."

The Plagiarism Clinched

Thus far we have established in a general way the existence and nature of Solomon Spaulding's rewritten "Manuscript Found." By undenied evidence we have shown its theft from Patterson's printing office before Spaulding's death and under circumstances which made the latter suspect Sidney Rigdon as the thief; that Rigdon, prior to this time, was so intimate with the employees of that printing office as to give rise to a general belief that he was himself employed there, and beyond all question evidencing an intimacy such as afforded him opportunity to purloin the manuscript. By like uncontradicted evidence, we have shown Rigdon to have been in possession of a similar manuscript, the existence of which is not explained by any other literary work ever done by him, and which, on one of the several occasions when he exhibited it, was said by him to have been written by Spaulding. We have established a perfectly plain and probable connection between Smith and Rigdon through Parley P. Pratt, and such contradictory statements as to the sudden and miraculous conversions of the two latter as bring home with redoubled force the suspicion of a concealed motive, such as a conspiracy in fraud would best explain. It now remains only to make more certain the points of identity between Spaulding's rewritten "Manuscript Found" and the Book of Mormon. When this is done, we will have established the plagiarism and convicted Smith, Rigdon, and Pratt as the conspirators who perpetrated the fraud. With the identity of the distinguishing features in the "Manuscript Found" and Book of Mormon established, we will have demonstrated beyond all *reasonable* doubt the very low origin of the Mormons' Book.

Some day will be done a work of supererogation in making a critical examination of the absurdities and contradictions upon which rest the claim of divinity. Present space will only allow the completion of that branch of the argument under consideration.

Before proceeding to the examination of the direct evidence, it will be well to give an account of the discovery of this identity, the very spontaneity of which adds force to the evidence adduced. Spaulding, like most authors, had a great fondness for his productions, and often read them to his friends. In 1832 or 1833, when Mormonism was fairly afloat, a Mormon preacher brought a copy of the Book of Mormon to Conneaut or New Salem, as it was sometimes called, the very place where Spaulding wrote most of his "Manuscript Found." A public meeting was appointed, in which the Book of Mormon was copiously read from and discussed by the elder. The historical part and style were immediately recognized by many present, among them John Spaulding, brother to Solomon Spaulding. Being "eminently pious," he was amazed and afflicted that his brother's manuscript should have been perverted to so wicked a purpose. With tear-filled eyes he arose in the meeting and expressed sorrow and regret that the writings of his sainted brother should be used for a purpose so vile and shocking. So much excitement was produced that a citizens' meeting appointed Dr. Philastrus Hurlburt to gather the evidence which afterwards was published in Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled."¹⁴⁹

In the first publication of Matilda Spaulding Davidson's letter, from which the above is gleaned, the words "Mormon preacher" in the manuscript published over her name were, by the typesetter, converted into "woman preacher." Mormons at once undertook to impeach the statement, not by denying the main features of the story or its value as an argument, but wholly upon the ground that Mormons never had a "woman" preacher. As the result of this criticism,

it was shown to have been due solely to typographical error,¹⁵⁰ thus leaving the statement as corrected free from criticism upon this ground. The very spontaneity of this outburst and its surrounding circumstances absolutely preclude every imputation of premeditation, every suspicion of personal interest, and every impeachment based upon an assumed hatred of Mormonism. Further, when we in addition remember that this occurrence was comparatively close to the time when Spaulding read his manuscript to many of those present in this same audience, then this circumstance will rightfully be accorded a very great evidentiary weight.

The evidence gathered by Dr. Philastrus Hurlburt pursuant to the citizens' meeting of Conneaut was first published in Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," in 1834, and is the most important single collection of original evidence ever made upon this subject. We will first examine that evidence in so far as it relates to the identity of Spaulding's "Manuscript Found" and the Book of Mormon, afterwards introducing such corroborating evidence as may be at hand. Unless otherwise indicated, the following evidence was taken before and published in 1834 by E. D. Howe in the nineteenth chapter of his "Mormonism Unveiled." The first witness introduced is John Spaulding, who lived with his brother Solomon Spaulding at Conneaut, O. Of a book his brother had been writing John Spaulding says this:

"The book he was writing was entitled 'Manuscript Found,' of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America, endeavoring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jew, or the lost tribes. It gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem by land and sea till they arrived in America under the command of *Nephi* and *Lehi*. They afterwards had quarrels and contentions and separated into two distinct nations, one of which he denominated *Nephites* and the other *Lamanites*. Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. The arts, sciences and civilization were brought into view in order to account for all the curious antiquities found in various parts of North and South America. I have re-

cently read the Book of Mormon, and, to my great surprise, I find *nearly all the same historical matter, names, etc.*, as they were in my brother's writings. I well remember that he wrote in the old style and commenced about every sentence with '*And it came to pass,*' or '*Now it came to pass,*' the same as in the Book of Mormon, and, according to my best recollection and belief, it is the same as my brother Solomon wrote, with the exception of the religious matter. By what means it has fallen into the hands of Joseph Smith, Jr., I am unable to determine.

"JOHN SPAULDING."

Our next witness is Martha Spaulding, wife of John Spaulding. She says:

"I was personally acquainted with Solomon Spaulding about twenty years ago. I was at his house a short time before he left Conneaut; he was then writing a historical novel, founded upon the first settlers of America. He represented them as an enlightened and warlike people. He had for many years contended that the aborigines of America were the descendants of some of the lost tribes of Israel, and this idea he carried out in the book in question. The lapse of time which has intervened prevents my recollecting but few of the leading incidents of his writings; but the names of *Nephi* and *Lehi* are yet fresh in my memory as being the principal heroes of his tale. They were officers of the company which first came off from Jerusalem. He gave a particular account of their journey by land and sea till they arrived in America, after which disputes arose between the chiefs which caused them to separate into different bands, one of which was called Lamanites and the other Nephites. Between these were recounted tremendous battles, which frequently covered the ground with the slain; and their being buried in large heaps was the cause of the numerous mounds in the country. Some of these people he represented as being very large. I have read the Book of Mormon, which has brought fresh to my recollection the writings of Solomon Spaulding, and I have no manner of doubt that the historical part of it is the same that I read and heard read more than twenty years ago. The old, obsolete style and the phrases of '*and it came to pass,*' etc., are the same.

"MARTHA SPAULDING."

Our third witness is Henry Lake, Spaulding's business partner at Conneaut. He says:

"He [Spaulding] very frequently read to me from a manuscript which he was writing, which he entitled the '*Manuscript Found,*' and which he represented as being found in this town. I spent many hours in hearing him read said writings, and became well acquainted with its contents. He wished me to assist him in getting his production printed, alleging that a book of that kind would meet with a rapid sale. I designed doing so, but the forge not meeting our anticipations, we failed in business, when I declined having anything to do with the publication of the book. This book represented the American Indians as the descendants of the lost tribes, gave an account of their leaving Jerusalem, their contentions and wars, which were many and

great. One time, when he was reading to me the tragic account of Laban, I pointed out to him what I considered an inconsistency, which he promised to correct, but by referring to the Book of Mormon I find, to my surprise, that it stands there just as he read it to me then. Some months ago I borrowed the Golden Bible, put it into my pocket, carried it home, and thought no more about it. About a week after my wife found the book in my coat pocket as it hung up, and commenced reading it aloud as I lay upon the bed. She had not read twenty minutes when I was astonished to find the same passages in it that Spaulding had read to me more than twenty years before from his 'Manuscript Found.' Since that I have more carefully examined the said Golden Bible, and have no hesitation in saying that the historical part of it is principally, if not wholly, taken from the 'Manuscript Found.' I well recollect telling Mr. Spaulding that the so frequent use of the words, 'And it came to pass,' 'Now it came to pass,' rendered it ridiculous."

NOTES.

85. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 17.
86. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 19.
87. "Supplement 14, *Millennial Star*," 1.
88. "Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism," 27.
89. "Braden-Kelly Debate," 47.
90. "Hand Book of Mormonism," 3.
91. Compendium, 11th Census.
92. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 37.
93. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," by Lucy Smith, 101-2-3.
94. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 27.
95. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 50.
96. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 26.
97. "History of the Church," 149-150. ("Josephite").
98. "4 Times and Seasons," 209. Supplement 14, *Millennial Star*, 45.
99. See Text for foot-notes, Nos. 106 to 109 herein. 6 *Millennial Star*,
20. "History of Mormonism," 64.
100. 20 *Millennial Star*, 33-36. 7 *Deseret News*, 288-9. 7 *Journal of Discourses*, 53. 1 *Journal of Discourses*, 230, and Sermons generally of this period. See also *Am. Hist. Mag.*, July, 1906.
101. "The Angel of the Prairies, a Dream of the Future," pp. 7 to 24, being a republication from the "Northern Light" of a sermon delivered by P. P. Pratt, in Nauvoo, Ill. Long before this Rigdon is reported to have related somewhat similar visions; Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 217.
102. "Mormonism Exposed," by Williams. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon," 7.
103. Pages 29 and 30.
104. Section 32, Doctrine and Covenants. Smith's God was, however, unfamiliar with governmental regulations of Indian affairs, so in spite of the revelation Pratt and Company were compelled by the United States Indian agent to leave the reservation. 5 *Journal of Discourses*, 199. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 218-226. "Gleanings by the Way," 324.
105. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 30.
106. Supplement 14, *Millennial Star*, 6.
107. 5 *Journal of Discourses*, 141.
108. Key to Theology, 41, 5 *Millennial Star*, 20.
109. 5 *Times and Seasons*, 613. God an Exalted Man, 6 *Journal of Discourses*, 3.
110. *Deseret News*, March 18, 1857, 13. See also 7 *Deseret News*, 179. Those most familiar with the psychology of dreams and the influence over

them had by the experiences of waking life, will give considerable evidentiary weight to a dream of the prophet's father, in which there appeared to him a "man with a peddler's budget on his back," such as peddler P. P. Pratt probably carried. This peddler of his dreams flattered him, told him he had called seven times and on this last call had come to tell him what was the one thing essential to his salvation, and then he awoke. ("Joseph Smith, the Prophet," 74.)

111. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 30.

112. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 31-33.

113. "Origin and Progress of Mormonism," 28. The author was a native of Palmyra and read proof on the Book of Mormon. "Hand Book of Mormonism," 3. This author lived thirty-two years in Palmyra. Braden-Kelly Debate, 46. Mother Lucy in "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," pp. 119, 120, 121, gives an account of a mysterious and unnamed "stranger" who came to their home with Joe at the time Harris had lost some of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon. As a mere matter of kindness this "stranger" forced upon the "Prophet" his company for a twenty mile walk through the woods at night, left a stage coach and went out of his way to do it, and attended the interview with Harris next day. An opportune time was this for Rigdon's presence. May 1, 1829, Sec. 10, *Doctrine and Covenants*.

114. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 289, followed in "Gleanings by the Way," 319. "Prophet of the Nineteenth Century," 57. See also the pointed statement of L. Rudolph, father-in-law to President Garfield, quoted in Braden-Kelly Debate, 45.

115. See Braden-Kelly Debate, 46, for three last statements. Tucker in his "Origin and Progress of Mormonism," p. 50, says Rigdon officiated at the wedding of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, but he fixes date of wedding in November, 1829, when in fact it seems to have occurred January 18, 1827. (*Historical Record*, 363.) Tucker may therefore have been misinformed. An alleged admission of Sidney Rigdon to James Jeffries that Spaulding's story was used, which is quoted in Braden-Kelly Debate, 42, I consider of doubtful value.

116. "Myth of the Manuscript Found," 34. Braden-Kelly Debate, 100.

117. Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 49.

118. See certificate of copyright in first edition, Book of Mormon, and Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 24.

119. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," by Lucy Smith, 101-103. Probably this refers to the home of Daniel H. Wells, afterward a prominent Mormon in Utah.

120. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 37-38.

121. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 39-42.

122. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 43.

123. Pratt's reply to Sunderland, copied in 45 *Saint's Herald*, 61. "Myth of the Manuscript Found," 32.

124. 5 *Journal of Discourses*, 194. This Hamblin seems to have emigrated to Wisconsin with Pratt, there became a Mormon and later his son became implicated in the Mountain Meadow Massacre. See "Jacob Hamblin," p. 9, and books generally on Mountain Meadow Massacre.

125. Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 47.

126. Pratt's Sermon, 5 *Journal of Discourses*, 194.

127. 7 *Journal of Discourses*, 177. Here Orson Pratt says his conversion is due to certain information "derived independent of what can be learned naturally by the natural man." See also supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 49.

128. 15 *Millennial Star*, 169, 682.

129. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," 157, by Lucy Smith.

130. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 43 and 46. 45 *Saint's Herald*, 61. "Myth of the Manuscript Found," 33.

131. Doctrine and Covenants, section 32. Supplement 14, *Millennial Star*,
 42. The date of this revelation was probably October 17, 1830. Howe's
Mormonism Unveiled, 212.
 132. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," by Lucy Smith, 169.
 133. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 49. 1 "History of the Church,"
 154.
 134. 1 "History of the Church," 154. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt,"
 49.
 135. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 37.
 136. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 42.
 137. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 36.
 138. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 36.
 139. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," 169, by Lucy Smith.
 140. "Autobiography of P. P. Pratt," 49. 1 "History of the Church,"
 154.
 141. "Gleanings by the Way," 317. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled,"
 107. Doctrine and Covenants, Section 32.
 142. 1 "History of the Church," 154; see also Pratt's Autobiography,
 50.
 143. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 104. "Gleanings by the Way,"
 312.
 144. H. H. Clapp in a letter to James T. Cobb.
 145. Life of Sidney Rigdon in manuscript by his son, John Rigdon. 1
 "History of the Church" 141. Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 47-48, 4 *Times*
and Seasons, 290. 45 *Saint's Herald*, 61.
 146. Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 47.
 147. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 107. Doctrine and Covenants,
 Sec. 32. 7 *Journal of Discourses*, 372.
 148. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 37.
 149. "Gleanings by the Way," 252-3. "Mormons' Own Book," 29-30.
 "Prophet of Palmyra," 417, *et. seq.* Boston Recorder, May, 1839.
 150. "Gleanings by the Way," 264.

(To be continued.)

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SOME LESSONS OF HISTORY.

BY JAMES F. RHODES.

IN the frequent discussions now-a-days as to what ought to constitute the collegiate course of study, the advocates on one side assume that if they can show that the study of "humanities" is the proper course for education, it will follow as a matter of course that the classic languages should be the basis. It is fortunate indeed that, in a superficial study of these languages, one cannot fail to get some sort of an idea of the literature, and to acquire a considerable notion of the historical development of the Greek and Roman people. And this leads to the remark that, if the proper study of mankind is man, nowhere can so much be learned as in history. This will be assented to by the majority of men, who, whether college bred or not, are educating themselves. The great attention paid to historical studies outside of the schools and colleges is evidence of this belief. The existence of so many local historical societies, of the American Historical Association and its annual meetings, the publication of several historical magazines, of which the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a type; the extent and range of the historical courses of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle—all these go to show the deep and wide curiosity as to what has been done by man. And there can be no question but that the interest is rightly directed, and it is especially gratifying that in our community—the youngest of the highly civilized nations—there should be the desire not only to learn everything about our own nation and land,

but also to know what has been done by the older countries that have preceded us in the march of civilization. Nothing, likewise, can be better adapted to the making of good citizens. Most Americans who are well read in history are ready to affirm that, so far as having a good system of government is conducive to happiness, their lines have fallen in pleasant places. If one were to name the period of history during which men generally were most happy and prosperous, he could hardly fail to designate our country as the place, and the time as that from the adoption of our constitution to the present, making the exception of the twenty years from 1850-70, when the slave power became arrogantly aggressive, when the civil war took place, and comprising the first period of reconstruction. Gibbon thought the epoch from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus (96-180, A. D.) under the Roman Empire, was the one during which the human race had the most blessings; but it was not given to him to see the growth of the great western republic, for his first volume was published in the year of the Declaration of Independence, and the important portion of his history finished the year of the surrender of Yorktown. It would seem, if we could preserve all the advantages which we have indefinitely in the future, that we had united the highest civilization to a government of the people and by the people, and to a well-being of the masses, in a greater degree than has ever before been known. It goes without saying that society is now dependent for its prosperity on, at any rate, tolerably good government—that from our standpoint good government must at least comprise protection of life and property, freedom of the person, and a share in the choice of our governors. Now, the study of history shows us how other nations have failed to preserve their liberty or their security, and it may be an aid to us to avoid the rocks on which they made shipwreck. As Thucydides, the first critical historian, said, “The true scheme of history is to recount

and interpret the past as a rational aid towards prevision of the future."

The history of Greece is, in the words of Mr. Edward A. Freeman, "the beginning of things for the political historian, for the historian of man in his highest form." When we ponder on the story of the Grecian people we are at first amazed that, having at the start so few of the arts of civilization, they were able to make such brilliant use of what they had, and to originate such a store of knowledge and create such a fund of intellectual experience. From the time we know them historically, the Homeric poems are for them history, poetry, and religion. The matchless progress of this people, whom Mr. Freeman calls our "intellectual fathers," will always be a theme for the historical student. But, after all, one cannot cease to wonder that this same people, who had the intellectual power and patriotism to do so much, should have failed to preserve their liberty and their country. The government of Athens, at the height of her prosperity, was that of a wise democracy, in which each citizen had a direct voice in the government. The people identified inseparably the maintenance of property with their laws and institutions. The intellectual average of the Athenian citizen, according to Mr. Freeman, was higher than that of the average representative in any modern political assembly. In religious matters the Athenians were distinguished for comparative mildness and tolerance, as compared with Christian countries, till a late date. They were noted for a remarkable combination of energy and discipline. They were taught in youth to think, speak, and act, and the result of this education displayed itself in two veins of intellectual movement—one towards active public business, and the other towards speculative truth. Their jury and judicial system secured even-handed justice, and Mr. Grote is authority for the statement that a man for a state offence would have had a better chance for a fair trial at Athens in the time of Pericles than any-

where to-day, save in England and United States, and better than in England down to the seventeenth century. These are characteristics of a brave, free people who had known how to win freedom; and had they been acquainted with the principles of representative government and federation, their history would have unquestionably been far different. The former principle was unknown to republican Rome as well as to Greece; although the latter system was sometimes entertained, and to a certain extent adopted, yet as it was not combined with the modern idea of representation, any federal scheme attempted was unsatisfactory and of short duration. The Athenian confederation, formed after the repelling of the Persian invasion, in the early part of the fifth century B. C., would have been placed on a more solid and secure basis had these modern ideas found any place in the Greek mind. Mr. Grote, however, shows that the growth of such notions was beyond the range of probabilities. He says:

“Nothing short of force will efface in the mind of a free Greek the idea of his city as an autonomous and separate organization. The village is a fraction, but the city is a unit, and the highest of all political units, not admitting of being consolidated with others into a ten or hundred, to the sacrifice of its own separate and individual mark.”

Nevertheless, Mr. Grote thinks that after the Peloponnesian War, when the Athenian empire had been annihilated, and the whole of inland Greece, except Argos and Attica, was enrolled in a confederacy dependent on Sparta, the time was propitious and the circumstances favorable for the organization of a federative system. Had Lysander, who wielded a greater power than any individual Greek before or after him, had the breadth of mind and statesman-like ideas that Pericles possessed, this might have been accomplished, but he was more anxious for personal glory and power than for the good of the country, and the Greek world remained what it had always been in one shape or

another—a system of dependent communities hating their chief, or a lot of independent cities jealous of one another and continually at war. Later on, the Achæan League was a federative system, something like the plan of union instituted by the Articles of Confederation in our country. The several cities banded together in a union for mutual support and defence, but as each city had but one vote in the general council, the scheme was unfair to the larger cities like Sparta, Corinth, Argos, and Ellis, who each had no greater voice than the very small communities. The days of the Achæan League were those of declining patriotism and energy, and there was lack of virtue in the people as well as imperfections in the plan of government, so that its influence was fleeting. And when the Romans came to conquer Greece, such was the Hellenic enthusiasm in the sister nation, that they would have gladly given her freedom, but the degeneracy of the country was such that it would have availed her nothing.

One feature of the Greek communities cannot fail to strike the modern mind with force, and that is the small population of the cities. Athens, the most important of all, had in her greatest prosperity but one hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom fourteen thousand were citizens. It is the appreciation of this fact that enables us to understand how the most weighty questions of state, such as the decision of peace, war, and alliances, could be resolved in a meeting of the whole community; or, as we should say, in a town meeting. Nothing could be a purer democracy than such a system.

Many reflecting persons have undoubtedly felt at times during the past few years that things were going badly; that the eager desire for money was sapping the foundations of public and private virtue; that the many financial defalcations and breaches of money trust seemed to show as if honesty were departing from us; and that the apparent ease with which members of legislatures were bribed

appeared to indicate that every man had his price. Despondency may in a measure give way to complacency when we come to reflect on a peculiar phase of Greek life and to see to how great an extent bribery pervaded the body politic. Few of the leading men of Greece were without some taint on their reputation for pecuniary probity; the prominent men were usually open to bribe in judicial matters, and it was quite as common thing for the general of an army to be corrupted so that he would not give battle to a weaker enemy, or in order to allow a beaten foe to retire from the field without a vigorous pursuit. Even Pericles, the greatest of all Greek statesmen, was fined for pecuniary malversation. Nor was it any better in republican Rome. There were few men in official position during the last hundred years of the republic to whom one could not offer money. Says Dr. Mommsen, speaking of the year 108 B. C.:

“It was not merely notorious, but, so to speak, judicially established, that among the governing lords of Rome everything was treated as venal—the treaty of peace and the right of intercession, the rampart of the camp and the life of the soldier.”

Using official positions for the purpose of personal aggrandizement was common even in earlier times; for, said the elder Cato:

“He who steals from a burgess, ends his days in chains and fetters; but he who steals from the community, ends them in gold and purple.”

It is the tendency of the human mind to exaggerate the evils of the present. We hear now a great deal said about the exclusively commercial character and mercenary spirit of the age, about the overpowering influence of money, about the greed for gain that takes possession of so many men. Indeed, to read many of these sermons and homilies, one might think that in no age before ours had the love for money been so strong, and the love for wealth such an overmastering desire, and that mammon was the god of America

and of our generation. But it was far worse in Rome during the last years of the republic. Then, in the words of Dr. Mommsen:

“To be poor was not merely the worst disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesman sold his state, and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the jurymen were to be had for money; for money the lady of quality surrendered her person as well as the common courtesan; falsifying documents and perjuries had become so common that in a popular poet of this age an oath is called the ‘plaster for debts.’ Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded not as an upright man, but as a personal foe.”

The contemplation of a state of society, of which the above is a picture, will not fail to prepare one for its destruction. It is, indeed, a mighty change from the early days of the commonwealth, when frugality, industry, and patriotism were the characteristics of the Roman; when the state was to the burgess what the Roman father was to his son; when the citizen was equally capable of holding his plough in the field or bearing his spear in the ranks, and when he performed his civic duties in the forum with vigilance and discretion. Nothing illustrates better the pluck of this people in adversity than the incident that occurred during the invasion of Hannibal into Italy. The ground upon which the Carthaginian general pitched his tent, near Rome, was immediately sold at an adequate price at public auction in the city. But the continued struggle between the aristocracy and the lower orders, and the conflict between the rich and the poor, involved the country in civil war, so that for forty years (128-78 B. C.) there was almost constant revolution. At one time the democrats would be in the ascendancy, and proscriptions and executions of their opponents, with confiscations of their property, was the natural result. Then there would be a con-

servative reaction, and when in their turn the aristocrats obtained power, the leaders of the popular party were killed or banished, and there was a new division of the confiscated estates. At the same time there was the rise of the city rabble, and each party vied with the other in flattery of the mob and in the amount of the distributions of corn, in order that the lazy and dissolute plebeians might eat without work and support the party that fed them best and entertained them with the most splendid shows. In such a state of society it will be no surprise to learn that the life and property of the burgess were no longer secure. The paramount end and aim of government were no longer realized. The Romans, who had acquired the virtues of war and government in four centuries of the laborious school of poverty, and who, by the vigorous exertion of those virtues, obtained dominion over nearly all the civilized world, were no longer able to rule themselves. By 78 B. C. the burgess had lost all share in the government, the magistrates were instruments without independence, and the civic community had broken down by its unnatural enlargement. It is especially interesting for us, because we have abolished the institution that was the destruction of Rome, to trace under the guidance of Dr. Mommsen the great and prime cause of this demoralization of society and the consequent ruin of the republic. The potent and all pervading influence was slavery. The early Roman community was a genuine farmer commonwealth—the land was divided into small farms and worked by the freeholder himself, with the assistance of his family and, possibly, a few slaves. The amount of the military service he owed to the state was based on the size of his farm—the class that had the largest farms contributed a greater proportion of their number for soldiers. The farmer's tastes were simple and his desires few. A house of his own and the blessing of children appeared the end and essence of life. The increase of wealth, however—a natural accompani-

ment of a growing state—gave rise to a capitalist class, whose favorite investments were land and slaves. The founding of large estates, worked on a large scale by profitable slave labor, made it impossible for the small farmer to compete with his more powerful neighbor, and thus was ruined the class which, of all others, was the mainstay and prop of the commonwealth. The result of the growth of wealth in connection with the extension of slavery is thus graphically described by Dr. Mommsen:

“Riches and misery in close league drove the Italians out of Italy and filled the peninsula partly with swarms of slaves, partly with awful silence. It is a terrible picture, but not one peculiar to Italy; whenever the government of capitalists in a slave state has fully developed itself, it has desolated God’s fair world in the same way. As rivers glisten in different colors, but a common sewer looks everywhere like itself, so the Italy of Ciceronian epoch resembles substantially the Hellas of Polybius, and still more decidedly the Carthage of Hannibal’s time, when, in exactly similar fashion, the all-powerful rule of capital ruined the middle class, raised trade and estate farming to the highest prosperity, and ultimately led to a hypocritically white-washed moral and political corruption of the nation. All the arrant sins that capital has been guilty of against nation and civilization in the modern world remain as far inferior to the abominations of the ancient capitalist states as the free man, be he ever so poor, remains superior to the slave; and not until the dragon seed of North America ripens will the world have again similar fruits to reap.”

And in another place, speaking on the same subject, Dr. Mommsen says:

“When once the slaveholding aristocracy in Virginia and the Carolinas shall have carried matters as far as their congeners in Sullan Rome, Cæsarianism will there be, too, legitimized in the view of the spirit of history.”

This passage is thus explained in a note on the same page:

“When this was written—in the year 1857—no one could foresee how soon the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals would save the United States from this fearful trial, and secure the future existence of an absolute self-governing freedom not to be permanently kept in check by any local Cæsarianism.”

The comparison suggested above enables us in some degree to comprehend the Roman situation, by recalling the conditions of agriculture existing in the cotton states before the war. There we see in one view the magnificence and luxury of the planters, the hopeless misery of the slaves, and the abject condition of the poor whites, trying to eke out a poor subsistence by working small farms, looked down upon by the negroes, and dominated politically by their rich and powerful neighbors. The likeness cannot, of course, be carried to the social, political, and religious conditions, but that slavery would have eventually destroyed our republic, as it did the Roman, can only be denied by those who will not heed the lessons of history. If we imagine New Orleans to have been as large as Paris, and its own turbulent elements of population added to the restless spirits of the French capital, we shall have a good idea of the city on the seven hills. The republic had lasted for five hundred years, and had accomplished its mission. It was dominated by a close, selfish oligarchy; reform from within was impossible. The reform came from the outside, and was realized through the achievements of the man of destiny, Julius Cæsar. His conquest of Gaul stayed for ages the barbarian inroads; or, in the words of Dr. Mommsen, “the barbaric invasions would have occurred four hundred years before, and there would not have been the bridge connecting the past glory of Hellas and Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history.”

Cæsar founded the empire, thus preserving society from

complete anarchy, and civilization from total destruction. In his unhappily short rule he established the boundary line between civilization and barbarism, and preserved the sacred fire of learning to be handed down through opportune means to future ages. To my mind, one of the most impressive remarks recorded in history was made by Napoleon to Goethe, when his conquering march through Germany brought him in contact with the great poet. To appreciate its force we must consider that the greatest general of modern times was talking to the foremost writer of the century, and that the subject of conversation was the greatest and most complete general and statesman of antiquity. Napoleon told Goethe he ought to write a life of Cæsar.

“This work might become the principal labor of your life. In that tragedy you should show to the world how much Cæsar would have been able to do for the welfare of humanity if he had only been left the time to execute his vast plans.”

But Cæsar lived long enough to restore order and to bequeath a system of government whose influence was a great factor in European civilization. But little more than a generation after his death, in the golden age of Augustus, Christ was born, and the founding of His religion cannot be regarded other than the great central fact around which all the events of modern history revolve. It can hardly be questioned that in an age of reasonable security and under a system of tolerable government, there were better opportunities for the propagation of a new religion than there would have been in a time of complete anarchy and social disruption. At any rate, by the time of Constantine Christianity had become a power in society, and whatever may have been the reasons for the conversion of the first Christian emperor, it is easy to see now that its adoption as the state of religion would have been a wise act from

motives of statecraft alone. The pagan religion had lost its influence with all classes.

“The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with respect and decency the religious institutions of their country.”

No pagan cared enough for his religion to die for it, but the Christian preferred death to the abjuration of his faith. This religion might well be regarded as a prop to a decaying empire—a religion which was professed by a body of steadfast and heroic men, with a profound yet simple belief, which taught emphatically the immortality of the soul, that before had been but a philosophic dream, and whose disciples led pure and wholesome lives. The church hierarchy was a legitimate outcome of the adoption of the religion by the state; and as the church, corrupt and bad as it became, was the first element of civilization in the dark and middle ages, we are indebted to it for the preservation of what learning there was in the world. When, therefore, there came the revival of learning, and modern progress began, there was ready for the student the efforts and results of the ancient philosophers, poets, historians, and sages. There was no longer need of the painful and laborious task of building the foundation; it was ready for the splendid superstructure of modern research and attainment.

From Cæsar to Washington is a long step, and, although the two men stand as representatives of two ideas diametrically opposed, without the work of Cæsar it is probable that the time would not have been ripe for the work of Washington; for Cæsar and the results flowing from his works form very large links in the historical chain of sequences. The establishment of our republic and the fram-

ing of our constitution were great events, but such a scheme could only have been constructed by men well advanced in the science of government, and accepted only by a people well matured in the art of ruling themselves. Our constitutional fathers wrought wisely and well, but they left to future generations the legacy of slavery, which was the rock on which the ship of state nearly made shipwreck. Dr. Mommsen, in the passage already quoted, speaks of our civil war as the "mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals." These are weighty and significant words, and, as the expression of a profound and philosophical German historian well versed in the history of all times, deserve to be appreciated in their fullest extent and meaning. It is rare indeed that the men who make history, and people who live in periods pregnant with results for future ages, come to realize the importance of their actions on human destiny; and this utterance of a German scholar, living in the most studious of all lands, seems like a judgment of posterity received in advance by the generation who worked out the salvation of their country. The greatest man produced by the rebellion, Abraham Lincoln, seemed to feel in a marked degree the import of the contest. Believing, before he was called to take a guiding hand in the destinies of his country, that a house divided against itself could not stand, that the Union would become permanently all free or all slave; and in the heat of the struggle, when he had assumed powers that no executive before him had presumed to claim, he never lost sight of the fact that though slavery was at the root of the rebellion, the fate of constitutional government was at stake, and that the Union must be preserved in order "that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth." And in that lies the meaning of the victory and makes the event as significant for us as was our revolution, or as full of importance as was for the English the grant of the *Magna Charta*,

or the revolution of 1688, and as great and lasting a benefit for mankind as was the Protestant reformation. The maintenance of constitutional government and the preservation alike of liberty and order is the mission of the English-speaking peoples on earth. Whatever may be the differences of Englishmen and Americans as to which nation is the better doing the work, all thinking men now cannot fail to agree that the destruction of the polity of the one would be an irreparable blow to the other. And if we have apparently solved problems that England is now grappling with, and if our outlook is more serene than hers, it must not be forgotten that never has any nation had our chance and opportunities. We started, as it were, with a clean sheet. We had no relics of the feudal system, no aristocracy and no privileges of blood; no upper, middle, and lower classes. We have such a boundless extent of land that there has never been any cause for agrarian disputes that have played such a prominent part in older countries; the red men, whose land we took, are a race of barbarians that are being annihilated by contact with civilization, and thus we have avoided continual and never ending conflicts for the rightful ownership of the soil, which has been the rule when one agricultural nation has conquered another. We started a democracy—all free and equal—all having a voice in the government, all anxious for education, and, outside the slave states, no higher class afraid to have a lower class educated. On the other hand, we were heir to all that was good in European civilization. We started in an age when its highest fruits could be culled—in an age of intellectual activity, of earnest inquiry, of truthful investigation—in short, in an age when the school-master was abroad. We derived from England the principles of constitutional government and of common law that had been laboriously wrought out through periods of painful struggles and self-sacrificing endeavors. We are like the man in the parable to whom were given the five

talents—to whom much was given and from whom much was required. But as in the eternal fitness of things every nation must have some evil to contend with, we were left with negro slavery, and the Yankee invention of the cotton gin made slave labor profitable.

THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF NEW YORK CITY IN A HUNDRED YEARS.

1807—1907.

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS.

THE OLD CITY—THE NEW CITY.

(*Second Paper.*)

IN a first paper on the theme of the Old City of New York an attempt was made to present a surface picture of the island of Manhattan—the old city of residence with its outlying country farms,—and a description of the two ancient highways and their intersecting country roads or lanes, as these were in the early years of the last century. This surface aspect has utterly disappeared, except in the most northerly districts, which, in their turn, are now being torn up in the progress of our urban and suburban development.

In the present paper it is proposed to show how the old city proper—that is, the area of residence—appeared at the period in question; and from this appearance will be drawn later a contrast with that of the new city after a century's growth.

Fortunately, there exist admirable and undisputable authorities on every detail of the subject. There are two maps: the map of 1807 with its legend attached, and the earlier map of Mangin, the city surveyor, drawn from "actual survey" in 1803. Mangin was an engineer of the best rank. It must be here noticed, however, that although

published as the result of an actual survey, his map is rather suggestive of what the city should be than descriptive of what it was:—"three-fourths of it," says Janvier, "was pure prophecy."

The explanatory matter or legend on the Mangin map carries forty-five references to sites of buildings. Of public buildings there were, besides the Federal Hall and five markets, the Arsenal, the College, the Public Library, the Hospital, and the Theater; and there were nine churches and one synagogue. There is a copy of the Mangin map in Valentine's "City Manual" for 1856. As has been already observed, the high tide of prosperity and the activity in city improvement no doubt promised an early fulfillment of the city development on the engineer's lines, which was definitely arrested by the "war in disguise," as Gallatin happily termed Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807.

The second and most authoritative document of this character, in which, from its nature, the line between present fact and future promise was definitely drawn, was that filed with the report of the commissioners appointed in 1807 to lay out the city and filed by them in 1811. The explanatory text legend on the commissioners' map carries eighty-seven references. The following is a summary: Public buildings (general and city)—the Government House, Post Office, United States Arsenal, State Prison and Arsenal, Court House, Jail, Bridewell, and old and new Almshouses; fifty churches and meeting houses and one synagogue; institutions of learning—the College, the Library, two free schools, and one church school; medical institutions—the Hospital, Asylum, and Medical College; seven markets; public halls—Washington, St. John, Tammany, and Mechanics'; the City Hotel, two coffee-houses, one theater, and a botanical garden.

For a literary description, the "Picture of New York," by the learned Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, published in the very year of the appointment of the commissioners, is

Hell Gate." Parsell's he designates as the island beyond Blackwell's (now known as Ward's Island).²

In my first paper the country roads were described, but it is interesting to find details on this subject. From Dr. Mitchill, as well as other sources, we learn that the fashionable drive was to Kingsbridge. The road, he says, was at least four rods (sixty-six feet) wide. It passed Vauxhall, Delacroix's Garden near the two-mile stone—a summer theater a little beyond the Sailor's Snug Harbor. (From the rear windows of the granite houses at the east side of Lafayette Place, when building by Mr. Sands in 1839-40, I often watched the tight-rope dancers in that resort.) On the right the road passed "Rose Hill," the property at that time of Nicholas Cruger and the former residence of General Gates (who died in 1806). About a quarter of a mile beyond, a little northward of Kip's Bay, also to the right and on the water side, was Bellevue, "a beautiful spot." Returning to the main road, Inclineburg was passed, at the summit of which were several beautiful villas; thence, for a league, the road ran not a quarter of a mile distant from the East River. The space between was improved in "an exquisite style" by wealthy citizens. A little beyond Smith's Tavern a road led to the ferry at Hell Gate (Eighty-sixth Street.) (In my time the ferry-boat crossed to Hallet's Cove in a flatboat with a single horse and a tread mill, and often by rowboats.) In making the crossing, as Blackwell's Island was passed, there was an excellent view of the grounds of Mr. Archibald Gracie. The road to Harlem was bordered by elegant villas, and at Harlem was a "noble toll bridge" built by John B. Giles, and near this the race-ground. From the Harlem

²City documents show the Parsells to have lived in New York in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

In a description of the Hudson River, which does not come within the limits of the present sketch, Dr. Mitchill says that "at Albany, the tide flows about one foot," and adds that by deepening the river it would be navigable from Sandy Hook to Half Moon Point, two hundred miles, without a single cataract.

Heights, Fort Washington and Kingsbridge could be seen in the distance. Returning to the point where the Bloomingdale Road appeared, you passed numerous Bloomingdale villas. From there, taking the right hand opening, you came to Greenwich and back to town.

This drive, with almost the same scenic surroundings, could have been repeated until the middle of the nineteenth century.³ Now how very few of the buildings, public or private, remain.

The water front of the old city—its natural boundary on the sides—will be best understood by an examination of the map. The East River was then of chief, as it is now of secondary, importance. Before the arrival of steam as a factor in river and later ocean navigation, the Hudson, where West Street (the river-front) is now "the busiest street in the world," had undergone but little change, the encroachments on the river consisting of little more than those gradually authorized to the owners of the riparian rights and made at their own expense. A single street, Washington Street, had been opened. The river trade, which had its entry and outlet here, was that of the Albany sloops that gathered at the Albany Basin, a safe harbor, and the scows which brought over the building materials, stone and lumber, from New Jersey, and the market truck, vegetable and fruit, from the Jersey flats. The fish trade, from the sea bass banks and the prolific old South Bay, centered at the Fulton or old Fly Market on the East River.⁴ Referring to this subject, Dr. Mitchill cites the map of the city published by the common council (Mangin's map) as affording the best exhibition of the streets and intended

³Other drives, described as being in favor with the gentry who had their wagons and fast horses, if not coaches and carriages, were to New Utrecht on Long Island through Brooklyn village and Flatbush; to Rockaway by the old road through Bedford; to Islip through Hempstead village, and to Passaic Falls by way of Powles Hook Ferry.

⁴In no aspect are the changes wrought in a century more striking than in that of the river traffic. The number of water craft, steam and sail, is now so great that it is proposed to regulate their movement by a police patrol similar to that which regulates the street traffic.

improvements and indicating the line where encroachments on the river fronts must cease. This map shows eleven wharves on the North River,⁵ all but three owned by private individuals; and West Street is delineated as the line of farthest future encroachment. It is not easy, from the small maps reduced from the original surveys, to understand in all cases the precise character of these structures. The terms wharf and quay were applied indiscriminately to a structure built on the sides or projecting into the water; dock is properly the space between two wharves on the side of the water. Wet dock and basin are synonymous words. Slips are the openings or spaces between wharves in a dock. The New York wharves projecting into the water have always been of wood, because, with the rapid tide and currents and the floating ice of our waters, stone structures would be more dangerous to vessels.

The commissioners' map shows some changes in the few years which elapsed before their work was completed. Upon it appear the names of one ferry, two basins, one dock, one slip, and nine streets on the North River front, but the wharves are not always indicated. West Street is outlined, and for the first time this appears at the Battery.⁶ An additional structure is the Canal Street Basin. It is convenient here to notice that there was a strong sentiment in favor of opening the Canal to the Collect and thus making a great interior basin, such as one sees at Hamburg, with an outlet on the East River—a plan certainly feasible and presenting many advantages because providing an internal harbor and perhaps traverse from river to river. It is

⁵These, in their order from south to north, were: Pollock's Dock, above Rector Street; the New Albany Basin; the Liberty Street Dock; the Cortlandt Street Dock, or ferry to Powles Hook; Bonsel's (wharf); Dey's Dock; the Corporation Dock; Rhineland's Dock; Dean's Dock, and Rhineland's Shipyards (foot of Reade Street).

⁶Besides West Street, the names from the Battery up are Beaver Street, Rector Street, Albany Basin, Powles Hook Ferry, Corporation Dock, Murray Street, Duane Street Slip, Beach Street, Vestry Street, Canal Street Basin, Chatham Street, Christopher Street, and Bank Street—the last named marking the most northerly limit of the city.

useless to speculate upon the possible results of such an improvement, which would have been doomed to obliteration by the acquirement of land for taxation.

The East River had by 1807 become the seat of an enormous foreign commerce. There are numerous descriptions of this period, and all agree that the shipping presented the aspect of a forest of masts. All varieties of vessels were represented, from the large English or French packet to the bark and the dainty clipper which carried the flag to the China seas. Mangin's map names two ferries, two piers, seven slips, and thirty-one wharves, beginning at the Whitehall and ending at the foot of Oliver Street. The lines of permissible encroachment are also laid out here, and make one of the most interesting features of this scientific survey. The line of South Street is the limit and is simply straightened.

Turning to the commissioners' map, we find a smaller number of designations along the East River front. Perhaps the commissioners looked upon this phase of the subject as outside their province. We find the names of thirteen slips, one wharf, and eight streets, four of which are above Corlear's Hook—there being no sign of either streets or wharves beyond.⁷

Passing from the water front to the interior, no further regard will be paid to Mangin's map as a topographical authority, but the legend will be compared with that of the commissioners as showing the great activity of the short period between the two surveys.

The three most westerly longitudinal streets, Greenwich,

⁷The names in their order are: Whitehall Slip, Exchange Slip, Coenties Slip, Old Slip, Wall Street, Coffee House Slip, Fly Market Slip, Burling Slip, Crane Wharf, Peck Slip, New Slip, Catharine Slip, George Slip, Charlotte Slip (these two being reminders of King George III. and his queen, Charlotte), Rutgers Slip, Clinton Street, Gouverneur Street, Walnut Street, (next street not named), and East Street—above the last being the following named streets: South (where it reached the point at the Hook), Grand, Broome, Delancey, and Rivington. Exchange Slip here mentioned was at the foot of Broad Street, where formerly stood the Royal Exchange and in 1807 the Exchange Market.

Washington, and West, were successively, in the order named, constructed by encroaching upon the river along the line of the Strand, as the North River shore (also the East River), was called. The estates on the west side of Broadway below Mortlake (present Barclay) Street all extended to the river in gradually increasing length and slope as the area of the southerly triangle of the city enlarged. As instances of this enlargement, the minutes of the common council show that when Dey Street was ordered to be dug out, levelled, and paved in 1759, its length from the Broadway to high water mark was eight hundred and thirty-four feet, while in an ordinance of 1771 the length of Warren Street from the Pump at upper end to high water mark, is given as fourteen hundred and eighty feet. The ordinances also show that the city owned the riparian rights, and that the encroachments into the river were limited to two hundred feet. The encroachments of the same character had been going on since the Revolution. While increasing the area of New York taxable property, it is undeniable that they have been of material injury to the river itself as a navigable stream by diminishing its breadth. They have weakened the force of the tide (the heft of the hammer), the influence of which reached to Albany. The three Hudson River streets all extended from the Battery: Greenwich as far as Gansevoort, Washington to West Fourteenth, and West Street to Tenth Avenue. On the commissioners' map West Street ends at Christopher, Washington and Greenwich at Bank Street.

The same gradual encroachment was made, and from the Dutch period even, on the East River water front. Queen Street (Pearl) was the line of the East River Strand; and after the middle of the eighteenth century the gardens on the rear of the famous Walton House (St. George's, now Franklin Square) reached to the river. And the deed of the Merchants' Coffee House, on the southwest corner of Water and Wall as the Coffee House Slip, states that

the high water mark was only one hundred and twenty feet from its rear. Water, Front, and South streets were built out in the order named. All three began at the Whitehall and extended to the East River at Corlear's Hook. Front Street stopped at Roosevelt and began its course again at Montgomery. They also appear on the commissioners' map as here recited.

On the map of 1807 the line of streets planned for residence is bounded by North Street (now Houston) from the East River, and Christopher Street on the Hudson side. Above on the west side, a single block of houses on the river line is marked out to Bank Street. The essential difference in the legends of the two maps is in the number of churches. In Mangin's twenty are named, in the commissioners' fifty and two additional markets—showing the increase and shifting of the population from 1803 to 1811.

The legend on Mangin's map gives seven public buildings, twenty-seven churches, one synagogue, two institutions of learning, one hospital, four markets, and one theatre. The legend of the commissioners gives eighty-seven titles. The public buildings were the Government House and Post Office (which do not appear on Mangin's map), the old State Arsenal on Tryon Row, and the State Prison at Greenwich. The city buildings were the City Hall (Federal Hall), the new Court House, Jail, Bridewell, and two almshouses, old and new. There were seven markets, the college, the city library, and three public schools (of which two were free schools), a hospital, an asylum, a medical college, one Roman Catholic church, one synagogue, fifty Protestant churches or meeting-houses, four public halls, one hotel or tavern, two coffee-houses, one theater, and one botanical garden. The only squares or open places found on the map of 1807 are the Battery, the Bowling Green, the triangle at the Park, and Hudson or St. John's Square.

Public Buildings, 1807.⁸

Government House.—This was a large double brick building with a showy portico in front, reached by a flight of many steps. The yard or garden in which it stood extended to Bridge Street and covered the whole block bounded by State Street and Whitehall. At the lower end of Broadway it fronted on the Bowling Green. In colonial days here was the site of the residence of the provincial governors, with fortifications on the water line and a stone battery. In December, 1773, when occupied by Tryon, the last royal governor, it was destroyed by fire and it was not rebuilt. The fort was removed in 1790, and in that year a new building was erected. This was intended as a seat for the state government, but for a short time when congress sat at Federal Hall it was used for the sessions of the courts. The seat of government was moved to Albany in 1789, but it was not till later that the state government offices were opened there. Government House was occupied by Governor Clinton. The commissioners' report shows that it was used in 1807 as a custom house, and the Academy of Arts had its home there. It was thus known as the Custom House. After 1814 the building was torn down and the site and garden were sold. A range of fine brick buildings was then erected, which for many years were private residences and were later used as offices for the foreign steamship lines. This is today the site of the

⁸At the present time, 1907, there are in Manhattan Borough fifteen principal buildings devoted to general administrative business, not counting the numerous structures of the fire, police, park, and other departments, petty courts, etc., or the prisons, asylums, and similar city institutions on Blackwell's, Ward's, and other islands which are within the borough's jurisdiction. Six belong to the United States government: The Post Office, south of City Hall Park; the Sub-Treasury, Wall and Nassau; the Custom House, Bowling Green; the Assay Office, Wall Street; the Army Building, Whitehall Street, and the Barge Office, Battery Park. The state has an arsenal. The rest are city and county structures, of which the principal are the City Hall, County Court House, and Register's Office in City Hall Park; the Hall of Records, Center and Chambers; the Tombs Prison and the Criminal Courts Building, Center Street; Ludlow Street Jail; Jefferson Market Court, Sixth Avenue and Tenth Street, and the elegant new Appellate Court Building on the east side of Madison Square.

United States Custom House; none better could have been chosen.

City Hall (Federal Hall).—This, the old and second City Hall, was a three story brick building with wings, built in 1700. It stood at the head of Wall Street within a bastion or line of stone fortifications which stretched across the city from the East River to the Hudson and gave the name to Wall Street. First occupied by the common council in 1703, it was frequently improved and embellished before the Revolution. It was the scene of exciting events at the time of the Stamp Act, when John Cruger was mayor, and later of the Tea Party. The Declaration of Independence was proclaimed here in 1776, and the legislature met here in 1784 when George Clinton was governor, as he had continued to be since the adoption of the state constitution in 1777. The United States congress sat in the hall in the spring of 1789, having adjourned to New York from Philadelphia, and here continued the adjournment of its session from time to time till Washington arrived to complete the formation of the government by taking the oath of office of the new constitution. He was inaugurated the thirtieth of April on the balcony of its handsome portico, at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets. The building—the interior being remodelled—served for the sessions of the national government and the state government and occasionally the courts also until torn down, about 1812. On the site in 1834 was began the elegant Corinthian edifice which, completed in 1841, was long the Custom House, but, proving too small for the vast increasing demands of New York trade, became the the Sub-Treasury.

There was a new Court House on Chambers Street opposite the Park. The two police justices held their daily sessions in the City Hall and in a new watch house at the head of Catherine Street. The aldermen exercised a restricted privilege.

The City Almshouse stood at the upper end of the Park

between it and Chambers Street, where it faced Broadway, an airy piece of ground and surrounded with open courts and gardens, says Mitchill. It had served as a poor house and public hospital, but was superseded before 1807 by one at Bellevue on the East River. The old building became Scudder's American Museum in 1810, of which Hallock wrote, "Once the Alms-house, now a school of wisdom."

Next to the Alms-house on Chambers Street was the Bridewell, which continued as a work house and place of confinement until the building of the prison in Center Street—that gloomy structure of Egyptian architecture covering the site of the old Collect Pond filled in for this purpose—which was begun in 1835 and finished in 1836.

The Jail or Prison, a third building on this Chambers Street line, stood on the northeast corner of the Commons (now the Park). This was the old Provost Jail, known in the annals of the Revolution as the scene of Provost Marshall Cunningham's cruelties to the patriot prisoners. The building long remained as originally constructed in 1758, except that colonnades were added to it in front and rear. It continued as the debtors' prison till after 1830. In 1835 it was fitted up as a Hall of Records for the safe keeping of public documents. It finally disappeared in 1903 to make room for an entrance to the subway.

There was a State Arsenal on Elm Street and a United States Arsenal on Bridge Street.

A State Prison was built by act of legislature at Greenwich, foot of Amos and Tenth streets. The structure, about two hundred feet long, stood upon grounds some four acres in extent, which were enclosed by a high stone wall, the river side being faced by armed sentinels. The prison was closed in 1828, when the inmates were removed to Sing Sing, and the property sold. Mr. Janvier, the chronicler of this neighborhood, says that "here convicts were first taught trades."

There were two Free School buildings, one on Chatham

Street, the other on Henry Street, the Episcopalians conducting a separate institution known as the old Trinity School.⁹

The City Library and Literary Exchange.—The location of this ancient institution is given in the legend as Nassau Street. It was founded in 1700, in the time of Lord Bellomont's administration, receiving donations of books from London in 1712 and 1729. The collections were in the charge of the city authorities until 1754, when an association of principal gentlemen was formed, known as the "City Library." This was chartered as the New York Society Library by George III. in 1772, and the charter was confirmed by the legislature in 1789. Until 1795 the books were kept in the City Hall. In that year the society was enlarged, land was purchased on Nassau Street opposite to the Middle Dutch Reformed Church, and a fine building was erected, which remained till 1836, when the society removed to Broadway on the corner of Leonard Street. In 1853 it removed to the Bible House on Fourth Avenue at Eighth Street, pending the erection of its present fine brown

⁹The Dutch Reformed Church founded a free school for general instruction in 1633. In the "Memorial History of the City of New York," published in 1892-3, it is stated that this institution was then still in existence, the location, however, not being given. In 1643 the Dutch Company granted a lot on the northwest corner of the "Heere Straat" (now Broadway) and Morris Street; others followed, one of which was in the Stadt Herberg or City Tavern—Coenties Alley at Pearl Street (71 and 73 Pearl). The general assembly passed an act for the encouragement of a grammar free school in 1702 and again in 1732. The legal life of the school established under this act, Rev. Alexander Malcolm being head master, expired in 1737. The Episcopal and Dutch Reformed schools can hardly be called free schools, as they had a sectarian bias. The present system originated at a meeting held at the house of Mr. John Murray in Pearl Street, February 19, 1805. On April 5 following an act of incorporation was passed by the legislature, under which DeWitt Clinton, the mayor of the city, was chosen president of the board. Quarters were secured in a house in Bancker (now Madison) Street, and William Smith was appointed teacher. The attendance soon rose to the number of forty-two. In April, 1806, Colonel Rutgers gave the board of trustees a lot on Henry Street, and the corporation provided a building on Chatham Street, where Mr. Smith began his classes, one hundred and fifty pupils attending, April 28, 1807. The legislature in January had set aside a part of the excise duties for the maintenance of the system. This first school No. 1 appears on the map legend, as does a second on Henry Street. The first is now known as the DeWitt Clinton School and is a fine new building on Tenth Avenue between Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth streets, dedicated in 1905.

stone building on University Place between Eleventh and Twelfth streets, having occupied rooms in the Mechanics' Society building on Chambers Street while the new home was being constructed. *From From Thirteenth Block by Ferry*

as the Times Market & Markets.

In 1807 these were seven in number. On the East River side they began with the Exchange Market, located on the commissioners' map at the foot of Broad Street. The old Exchange—the Royal Exchange,—a building raised in 1752-4 on arches, had on the ground floor a market. It has a place in our history as the site where articles of colonial manufacture were first sold in the Stamp Act days. The Royal Exchange as a building had fallen into disrepute in 1795 because of the intolerable nuisance that afflicted it, in common with all the lower section of the city, with its open drains and accumulation of garbage of the slips, for all of which a heavy penalty was paid in the scourges that followed. The chief market was the Fly Market, so called from the Vly or valley which was its site—originally a salt meadow. It stood at the foot of Maiden Lane, extending from Queen (Pearl) to Water and from Water to Front on the river line, and was supplied with an endless variety of food—fish and shellfish from the East River, meat and poultry, vegetables and fruit from the prolific farms of Long Island. There had been a Peck Slip Market at the foot of Ferry Street between Queen (Pearl) and Front streets, which drew its supplies from the same sources.

The population of the middle of the city was supplied by the Oswego Market, built in 1771, on the site of the old Broadway Market at the upper end of Maiden Lane between Nassau and Broadway, although not named on the commissioners' map. This remained until 1810, when it was removed and its stalls were transferred to the Bare Market at the west side of the city, so called, Dr. Mitchill says, because this portion of the city was consumed by fire. De

Voe, a great authority, gives another version of the origin of the name, and prefers Bear. This is now the Washington Market, and, as formerly, the outlet for the Jersey products which cross the Hudson from Powles Hook by ferry to the foot of Cortlandt Street. The commissioners' map shows the Duane Market at the foot of Duane Street, where there was a slip to the Hudson River.¹⁰

Bridges.

In 1693 Spuyten Devil was first bridged. This was "the King's Bridge," affording the only mode of travel from the island at the north. The bridge across the Harlem Creek at Harlem was built by Lewis Morris in 1704, after which the Boston Post and stages took this route. Before, a long detour had been necessary through Eastchester.

Columbia College.

On the commissioners' map this institution—the old King's College of colonial days—is located on Robinson Street, which ran from Broadway to the Hudson, passing through the college grounds. Robinson Street was so named by the trustees of Trinity Church in honor of Colonel Joseph Robinson, a distinguished merchant and one of their number, some time after the year 1807. Later the eastern portion of the street was widened and called Park Place. The college edifice occupied the whole of the then high plateau bounded by Church, Chapel (now West Broadway), Murray, and Mortlike (now Barclay) streets. It was an elegant stone structure, with a large court and garden, surrounded by a high iron fence. The fire of 1776 burned up to this limit all the houses on the west side of Broad-

¹⁰It was long before the Hudson River front reached importance. In 1876 the famous old butcher and antiquary D. Voe, then commissioner of markets, told me that there were every morning eight miles of market wagons on the west side streets between Washington Market and Spring Street, from dawn till 8 o'clock, when they all disappeared. To-day there are sixteen markets, but the old Fulton and Washington are still by far the most important. Next come Center, Jefferson, and Tompkins.

way. The students lived within the building. Here were graduated between the year 1754 and the Revolution that bright galaxy of youth whose names alone make a constellation in the firmament of American liberty—Jay, Morris, Hamilton. The college was first incorporated by royal charter granted by George III. in October, 1754 (James de Lancey was then lieutenant-governor), under the name of "College of the City of New York," and by that name it was officially known.

Columbia College naturally followed the northward trend of population, removing to the east side of Madison Avenue at Forty-ninth Street, the land being a portion of the twenty acres granted by the state, occupied in 1807 by Hosack's Botanical Garden. The property thus acquired has become in our time very valuable, being the chief factor in the financial strength of the institution. A subsequent and perhaps final move was made to Morningside Heights on the site familiar to the passing generation as that of Bloomingdale Asylum for the insane, the historic ground of the battle of Harlem. There the old college has expanded into a university of the first standard and promise. Hamilton Hall, its latest addition, was opened in this year, 1907.

The New York Hospital.

The charter of this institution was granted in 1771 by the provincial governor, the Earl of Dunmore (Murray), upon the petition of three eminent physicians, Peter Middleton, John Jones, and Samuel Bard. The corporate body—styled "the Society of the Hospital of the City of New York in America"—consisted of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and assistants, the rector of Trinity, one minister from each of the other church denominations in the city, the president of King's College, and a number of gentlemen, and twenty-six governors were named as managers. Five acres of ground were purchased of Mr. Rutgers, fronting on Broadway between Duane and Anthony (now North) Street.

The foundation was laid in 1775, but when nearly completed the building was almost entirely burned. What remained was occupied in 1776 as a hospital by the surgeons of the American army, and after that by the British as a barracks and hospital. In 1789 the completed and permanent structure occupied the square bounded by Great George Street (Broadway), Church Street, and Barclay Street (now Duane), with open fields to the north and south. The hospital was supported mainly by private funds, with some annual aid from the legislature. In 1802 nine hundred and seventy-four patients were cared for.

The grounds were enclosed in 1801 by a handsome brick wall. Set well back in the grounds, with a high railing on the Broadway side, a flight of steps, and a broad walk to the front porch between beautiful rows of elm trees, the hospital presented a stately appearance. The roof was of slate, with a cupola. To the distress of many of the institution's best and oldest friends it was removed in the sixties to the Thorn mansion in West Sixteenth Street near Fifth Avenue, the new and extensive buildings being completed in 1877. No amount of dollars can ever compensate for the loss of the old sanitary location on high ground and in the midst of a comparatively small population; but it seems to be ordered in our country that every other consideration must fall before the financial.

The Bloomingdale Asylum, an offshoot of the New York Hospital, was opened for the reception of lunatics in 1821. A new Accident hospital has also been built on the triangle bounded by Hudson, Duane, and Jay streets. On the commissioners' map appears (No. 60 of the legend) the Maniac Hospital on the corner of Duane and Church. It may be here noted that the medical department of King's College was organized in 1768, and its buildings served as a military hospital for the patriots in 1776, but after the British occupation fell into decay, and in 1810 were hardly habitable. Dr. Nicholas Romaine established a Medical School

in 1757, which occupied a building on Hudson Street near Duane. The legislature of New York failed to incorporate it as petitioned in 1797, but the school continued till 1806, Queen's College of New Jersey (now Rutgers) conferring degrees on its graduates. In 1807 there was a Dispensary which had a Kine smallpox hospital near the old Brick Church, which faced the Park.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1807 had its home in Pearl Street. The Columbia (King's) medical department was connected with it in 1814, and a brick building on the upper side of Barclay Street near Broadway was occupied.

Churches.

On the legend of the commissioners' map the names and sites are given of fifty Christian churches, of which forty-nine were Protestant and one was Roman Catholic, with one Jewish synagogue.

There were five Dutch Reformed churches. The Old South or Garden Street Church, which stood in what is now Exchange Place, was built in 1693, rebuilt in 1766 and again in 1807, and destroyed in the great fire of 1835.

The New or (Middle Dutch), built on Crown Street (now Liberty) in 1729, was remodelled in 1754. From its cupola Franklin made some of his experiments in electricity. This building in 1844 was sold to the United States government and made into a post office. In 1876 the building was demolished and the present fine structure was erected on its site by the Mutual Life Insurance Company. The New York Chamber of Commerce long occupied its upper floor.

The North Dutch Church was built in 1769 on the corner of William and Fair (now Fulton) streets, and was famous as the seat of the Fulton Street prayer-meetings in 1870.

The Northwest Dutch Reformed was in Sugarloaf Street, and still another was in George Street, Greenwich.

Next in order of chronology comes the Protestant Epis-

copal denomination, which had eight churches. Old Trinity, the mother of them all, originally built on Broadway, was founded under royal charter in 1697. This, the most stately of the colonial edifices, was destroyed by the fire which swept the lower part of the city and the west side of Broadway upon the British entry in 1776. It lay in ruins during the war, but, reconstructed, was again consecrated to public worship.

St. George's Church, the second under the royal charter of 1697, stood in Beekman Street and was finished in 1750. It, too, was destroyed by fire (1814); rebuilt, it was finally taken down in 1868.

St. Paul's, the third of the churches under the royal patent, stood, and still stands, on the southwest corner of Broadway and Vesey Street. Completed in 1766, it is the finest relic of colonial architecture that exists in this city, or perhaps anywhere on this continent. Its beauty of design has not yet been excelled. The elegant spire was added in 1794. Washington worshipped there, and the pew he occupied remains unchanged. The services on the occasion of his death were held in St. Paul's on Saturday, thirty-first of December, 1799, "the last day of the century," according to the newspapers of the time; and there commemorative services were held by the Society of the Cincinnati and the Sons of the Revolution on the fourteenth of December, 1899, the centennial anniversary of his death. The passer through Broadway must notice the beautiful mural monument to the memory of General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec. It was erected under an order of congress of the twenty-fifth of January, 1776. His remains were brought from Canada and deposited beneath the stone in 1818; it is under the eastern portico of the church.

The next expansion of this sect was marked by the purchase of the land facing Hudson Square and the erection of the fine chapel of St. John's, which was completed in

1805. It was from the pulpit here that the learned and genial Bishop Wainwright maintained the Anglican view of the great controversy, "no church without a bishop, no state without a king"—that is to say, the first of these premises. The eloquent Dr. Potts, from his Presbyterian standpoint, held to the contrary, and all society was divided, for as Mr. Tourgee says in one of his western stories, religion was a chief occupation of American life in the beginnings of the last century. The purchase of the site for a fashionable church made this section a desirable location for residence. The chapel faced to the westward, and St. John's Park was soon railed in as a private pleasure ground.

The next interesting structure was St. Mark's on Stuyvesant Street. The property was the gift of the descendants of the Dutch governor, whose "bouwerie" lay hard by, and whose bones rest beneath the structure. Christ Church stood on Ann Street, St. Stephen's at the corner of Broome and First, and Zion Church on Mott Street.

This is the proper place to mention the church of the French congregation, which dated from the time of the Huguenot immigration by way of Holland—l'Eglise du Saint Esprit (Church of the Holy Ghost). In 1704 the Huguenots erected an edifice, long the oldest of the New York churches, on Pine Street fronting the rear of the present United States Sub-Treasury, with a burial ground running back to Cedar Street. Here they worshipped for one hundred and thirty years. The building was "low, grave, and sombre, and its tower heavy and monastic." Their next house of worship was on Twenty-second Street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues. They have since removed to East Twenty-seventh Street, where services are continued in the French language. The congregation joined the Episcopal establishment in 1804, and it is styled the French Episcopal Church on the commissioners' map.

The Presbyterians who in the colonial days held even

sway over the religious and social world, had eight houses of worship. The First, or Wall Street Church, a modest building of rough stone, stood at the upper end of Wall Street near Broadway. Originally erected in 1719, enlarged in 1768, and rebuilt in 1809, it was finally taken down in 1844 and reconstructed in Jersey City. It was of this church that the famous Dr. Samuel Miller was pastor, and here he delivered his centennial address in 1801.

The Second or Brick Meeting House, a branch of the Wall Street Church, was first built in 1768 on the vineyard lot opposite the Commons (Chatham Row). It was rebuilt in 1797, and was demolished in consequence of the widening of Beekman Street. Again reconstructed, it was a favorite house of worship. Here the Rev. Gardner Spring held forth. His maxim was "one idea in a sermon hammered out thin." The last service held here was in 1856. The *New York Times* erected its tall (down town) structure on the site.

The third Presbyterian Church was built in 1760 on Little Queen Street (now Cedar), between Nassau and Broadway. This congregation originated about 1756 in a secession of the Scottish members who objected to an innovation in worship and psalmody. It was usually called the Scotch Presbyterian Church. The three Presbyterian churches so far named were all occupied by the British troops as hospitals or barracks, and were left by them in a dilapidated state.

A fourth church of this denomination was built on the plans of the Seceding members on Nassau Street. It is called the Seceder's Church on the commissioners' map, and there was in 1817 a church of the same name on the Union Road, Greenwich. In addition there were meeting-houses of this denomination on Rutgers, Spring, and Chambers streets, and Irish Presbyterian or Orange Presbyterian churches on Cedar, Pearl, and Murray streets.

Next in order of importance were the Baptists, with seven

places of worship. The first was on Gold Street—a small building erected between Fair (now Fulton) and John in 1760. It was built in 1802 and taken down in 1840. Other Baptist churches were on Fayette, Rose, Mulberry, and Broome, with a Welsh Baptist Church on Mott Street, an Ebenezer Baptist Church on Broadway, and an African Baptist Church on Anthony (now Worth) Street.

The Methodists follow, with five churches. The first was built on the south side of John Street near Nassau. The others were on Duane, Second, Fourth, and Bedford streets, and there was an African Methodist church on Church and Greene streets.

Of the other denominations of the Protestant faith we find the Moravians, who began their worship in a small frame building on Fair (now Fulton) between William and Dutch in 1751. The old structure was taken down, and it was rebuilt in 1829, finally being removed in 1843. This was the only church of that sect.

The Friends, who had occupied a small house in Little Green Street (now Liberty Place), a short street running from Maiden Lane to Crown (now Liberty), from the early part of the eighteenth century, in 1775 built a second house of brick in Pearl Street between Franklin Square and Oak Street, which was taken down in 1824. In 1794 the elder structure was destroyed and a new one erected fronting on Liberty Street. This continued to be used as a meeting-house until 1826, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Grant Thorburn, the famous florist and seedman, who had his store there. They appear on the map respectively as the Old Meeting House in Liberty Street and the New Meeting House in Pearl. The Universalists met in Pearl Street; they first employed a minister in 1803. The German Calvinist Reformed Church was in Nassau Street. The German Lutheran Church in Frankfort Street.

The first Roman Catholic public worship was held at Fraunces' summer tavern, the Vauxhall, at the foot of

Warren Street. It is also stated that they worshipped in a carpenter's shop in Barclay Street. Their legal disabilities under the English law were removed in 1777 by the state constitution, and in 1786 the Barclay Street land was purchased and St. Peter's erected. It was later rebuilt, the French and Spanish officials here contributing to its cost. A second church, St. Patrick's, was erected in Mott Street, corner of Prince.

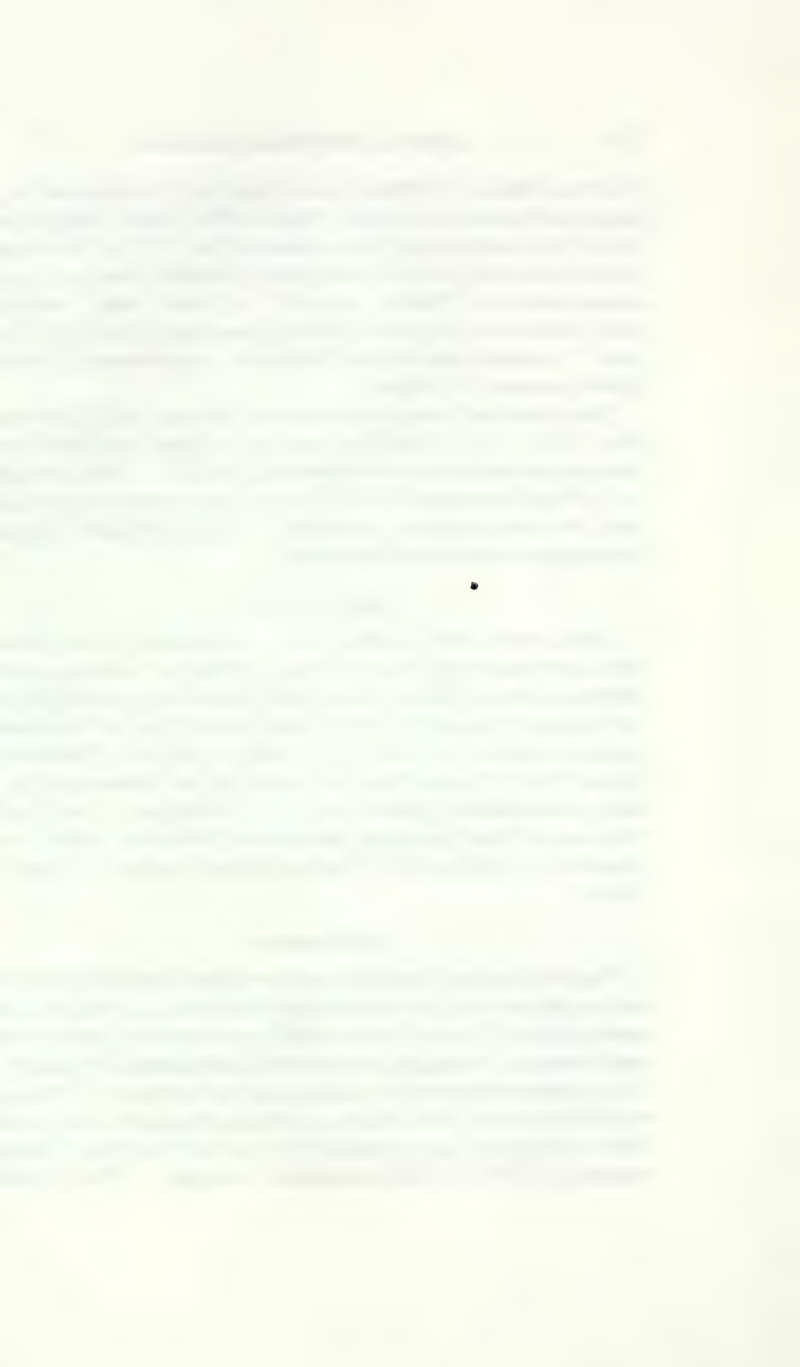
The Jews had their first house of worship in Mill Street about 1706. This building was taken down and the first synagogue was built on the same site in 1729. It was rebuilt in 1818 and occupied till 1833, when the property was sold and the congregation vanished. The Nineteenth Street Synagogue is its lineal successor.

Public Halls.

There were three public halls. Mechanics' Hall, later the American Hotel, was a large building on the corner of Robinson Street (Park Place) and Broadway, and kept by Mr. Little. It is said by Dr. Mitchill to be "one of the most genteel halls in the city." St. John's Hall on Frankfort Street (No. 8) was a favorite resort of the Masonic order, being the meeting place of many of its lodges. The Great Wigwam of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, organized in 1799, was at 1 Chatham Street (corner of Frankfort).

The Theater.

The old theater, the first in New York, and noted both during the colonial period and the Revolution, stood on the north side of John Street, half way between Broadway and Nassau. Managed during the Revolution by Henry, it was later conducted by Hallam and after him by Dunlap, to whom we owe its history. It was about sixty feet back from the street, and reached by a covered way, being opened in 1767 by the American Company. The events



preceding the Revolution brought the exhibitions to a close, the last performance occurring August 2, 1773. In 1774 a suspension of all public amusements was recommended by congress. During the British occupation amateurs opened the John Street Theater, under the name of Theater Royal. The theater was reopened August 24, 1785. The last performance here was on the 4th of January, 1793. The new or Park Theater, which stood on Park Row (late Tryon Row) near Ann Street, was opened the twenty-ninth of January of the same year. On the commissioners' map it is designated as on Chatham Street.

The City Hotel.

This was the chief house of public entertainment in the city, and, according to Dayton, was "without an equal in the United States"—a distinction which it maintained until the erection of the Astor House. The City Hotel stood on the west side of Broadway at the corner of Stone (now Thames), a historic site. It was opened in 1754 as a tavern by Edward Willett under the sign of the Province Arms. Willett describes it in his announcement as "Not only the best accommodated with stables and all things necessary to the entertainment of travellers, but the best situated of any house in that business in this city, being nearest the center; and in a direct line with the eastern road and very handy to both the North River, Staten Island, and Long Island ferries." The arms of the province (the beaver and flour barrel) hung over its door, and it was variously known through the last half of the century as the New York Arms, the York Arms, the City Arms, and the City Tavern.

On the commissioners' map the City Hotel is the only such establishment deemed worthy of notice. In 1793 the old building, which was still owned by the de Lancey family, was taken down and a new structure, the Tontine City Tavern or City Hotel, was erected by a company organ-

ized on the scheme of Tonti, which had been found successful. This was a subscription in the form of a paid-up annuity, the building at the close of a term of years to go to the last survivor. This is said to have had the first slate roof of any structure in New York. The title *hotel* now appears for the first time. It was an expression of the hatred of anything, even to a name, which recalled the days of British oppression, and with this aversion was manifested a like attraction for everything French. The same disposition prevailed in Philadelphia, though not to an equal extent in the New England cities, which had not suffered so much from British depredations during the war. In 1800 the City Hotel was kept by John Lovett (64 Broadway). It stood until the Boreel Building occupied the site, and this in turn has been recently torn down to give way to one of the gigantic structures which are disfiguring the famous old thoroughfare.

The funeral procession on the occasion of Washington's death started from the City Hotel.

Coffee Houses and Resorts.

During the colonial period coffee houses were the favorite resorts of the upper and middle classes. By far the most famous of these was the old Merchants' Coffee House, which stood at the corner of Queen, later Water, and Wall streets. Its site has been variously occupied, and was for a long time in later days the printing office of the *Journal of Commerce*. When the old building was erected is now uncertain, but it was first so named in 1744. Coffee House Slip and Coffee House Bridge occupied the middle of Wall Street at its lower end. The bridge was the favorite stand in the open for licensed auctioneers. The building was destroyed in the great fire of 1804, but reconstructed as the Phoenix Coffee House the next year.

The Tontine Coffee House was projected on the 30th of March, 1791, by an assemblage of gentlemen who met at

the Merchants' Coffee House, with John Broom, president of the Chamber of Commerce, as chairman. No doubt it was for their accommodation that the scheme was undertaken; the corner-stone was laid with great ceremony on the 5th of June, 1792, and the building, a worthy specimen of the architecture of the period, was opened with a great public dinner, to which a hundred and twenty gentlemen sat down, June, 1793. When the merchants made it their headquarters they brought their treasures with them, and the upper chamber, which they occupied, was adorned with the full-length portrait of Alexander Hamilton, painted by Trumbull for the merchants of New York in 1791. Celebrated for the exquisite grace and beauty of the head and hands, this is now one of the gems of the extensive Chamber of Commerce portrait gallery.

The Tontine served both as a Stock Exchange and as a Lloyd's until the building of the Exchange in Wall Street. There were then no brokers of merchandise. Both the Phoenix and the Tontine Coffee Houses appear on the legend of the map of 1807.

REMAINS OF THE OLD *Gardens.*

The State Botanical Garden was near the four mile stone on Fifth Avenue. Originally acquired by Dr. Hosack in 1801, it was bought by the state in 1804. Granted to Columbia, it was the foundation of the prosperity of the college.

Corris' public garden was not far from the center of the Battery—"this exquisite place of recreation," as it is termed by Mitchill, remained for half a century. The Ranelagh was a house and garden generally known by the name of Mount Pitt, situated at the junction of Greenwich and Division streets, near Corlear's Hook. From the front of the hotel was a fine prospect of the city. Here were in 1807 the remains of a British battery, and on the hill behind stood Belvidere. The embankments made

by the British in 1781 extended from Bayard's Hill to Lispenard's Brewery.

The Vauxhall was on the Bowery Road not quite two miles from the City Hall, the garden being laid out with taste. In the middle stood a large equestrian statue of Washington. An orchestra played among the trees, and there were fine fireworks at night. It was opened by Delacroix.

Public Squares.

Mangin makes no mention in his legend of any public square, and in the commissioners' legend references occur only to the Battery, the triangle at the City Hall Park, and Hudson or St. John's Square.

The Battery was as favorite a place for the children as the Tuileries Garden in Paris, and as much a resort of the fashion as Hyde Park in London. It is best remembered in our history as the spot from which Captain Alexander Hamilton, as an officer of the city artillery, took the guns in '76 to the upper end of the island.

At the southern part of Battery Park (as now called) stood in 1661 the town windmill—the grinding and shipping of flour being a chief industry, as shown by the city's coat of arms. This delightful spot, unequalled for its perpetual breezes, naturally produced by the funnel-like opening of the Narrows and the movement of the tides inward, was a scene of excitement in the War of 1812, when a battery was erected on the water line as one of the local defenses. Gradually neglected, as fashion left the neighborhood, Battery Park fell into decay, and finally was a prey to the elevated railway, which sliced off a goodly portion. It is also famous as the place of Morse's telegraphic exhibitions up to 1853.

That portion of Battery Park until lately known as Castle Garden was originally called the Southwest Battery and subsequently Castle Clinton, an insulated work

connected with the Park by a bridge. After its abandonment as a fortification it was converted into a place of amusement and a stage was erected. Here plays and operas were performed in the summer. Jenny Lind appeared here in 1850, and Mario sang in the same decade. The Garden was finally turned to practical uses as an immigration depot and was then dismantled, the Aquarium—one of the present show places of the city—taking its place.

The Park Triangle needs no comment. A railing was built around it, and the City Hall, begun upon it in 1804, was completed in 1812. The old Boston Post Road ran through the southern end of the Park.

The Bowling Green, an open space in front of the old Fort Amsterdam (later Fort James, and Fort George of the English period), was perhaps used as a place of amusement by the Dutch, though more probably it was the site of the Horn Redoubt. In Stuyvesant's time it was a grass plot. In the later English period it was known as the Market Place, a public market having been opened here in Governor Fletcher's time. The common council in 1733 resolved that "a piece of land lying at the lower end of the Broadway, fronting to the Fort, be leased to some of the inhabitants of the said Broadway, to be inclosed to make a Bowling Green, with walks therein for the beauty and ornament of the said street, as well as for the recreation and delight of the inhabitants of this city, leaving the street on each side thereof fifty feet in breadth," etc. In April of the same year it was ordered to be leased for a term of eleven years to John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay, at a yearly rental of one peppercorn. The next year it was fenced in and a lease was made to Frederick Philipse, John Chambers, and John Roosevelt. The Bowling Green must have been regarded simply as an adjunct to Government House, as it is not mentioned by Mitchill in his guide. In 1770 the city set up within it a gilt equestrian statue of George III., which was destroyed by the

patriots in 1776. Today the lower end is ornamented by a fine seated bronze figure of Colonel Abraham de Peyster, one of the early mayors—the gift of his descendant, General John Watts de Peyster.

The last of these places was St. John's Square—a private park, as Gramercy Park is today, well planted with trees and grass, and having stone walks and handsome gates, with keys for those entitled to entrance. In 1869 Cornelius Vanderbilt purchased four acres of this beautiful place and erected upon it the colossal freight depot of the Hudson River Railroad.

For the evolution of the park system to 1893 the reader is referred to the admirable sketch by General Egbert L. Viele in the "Memorial History of the City of New York." Since then, however, there have been notable extensions. General Viele mentions "five public squares situated entirely upon swamps, viz.: St. John's, Washington, Tompkins, Madison, and Gramercy." The development of the system dates from 1851, when the mayor sent in a message which was the initial step in the purchase of the land of Central Park. Mr. Viele in his account gives twenty-five parks with a total area of 5,167 acres.

Streets.

The city, bounded by a line drawn from the foot of Duane Street on the North River to a point somewhat higher on a straight lateral course, was in 1807 well covered with streets and buildings. It is unnecessary here to enter into a detailed examination of the peculiarities of the built-up city of a century ago—which still obtain, with but the slightest modifications here and there. Some record on the subject of street nomenclature (including derivations and notices of alterations of names) would be interesting, but this branch of our topic could not in any case be more than partially dealt with here. As already

stated, the streets of the old city below Houston, without exception, bore names and not numbers. *by 1860 and*

Places of Business.

The business or office buildings were few in number. The Bank of New York, which was the first bank in the city—organized in 1791 at the Walton House,—had a building of its own in Wall Street on the corner of William. The Manhattan Bank, created under the inspiration of Aaron Burr for other purposes, was located about midway between it and the old City Hall. The Office of Discount and Deposit, established by the Bank of the United States in 1791, and later known as the Branch Bank of the Bank of the United States, was in a building of its own next door but one to the Bank of New York. Its successor, the Branch Bank under the Pennsylvania charter, had its home in the Verplanck house. After the failure of the mother institution the building was occupied by the Bank of Commerce, chartered in 1839. Upon the removal of the latter to its marble building on Nassau Street, the building was taken by the Assay Office of the treasury department, which is still located there. The Merchants' Bank, founded in 1803, was on Wall Street between the Manhattan and New York banks. The Jersey Bank at Paulus Hook was a New York institution, but the location of its office is not given in the authority quoted.

There were eight insurance companies. The New York Insurance Company, founded 1796, occupied the building on Wall Street between the New York and the Branch Bank. The Columbian Insurance Company, 1799, was on Wall Street, nearly opposite the Tontine Coffee House (corner of Water); the United Insurance Company, 1799, Wall Street opposite the Branch Bank; the Marine Insurance Company, 1803, Wall Street near the Branch Bank; Mutual Insurance Company (fire), 1798, Pine Street nearly opposite the French Church (south side); Eagle Insurance

Company, 1803, Wall Street just above Pearl. The office of the Washington United Insurance Company, 1802, and Phoenix and London (fire) are not located.

It will be observed that Wall Street was in 1807, as now, the center of finance.

Residences.

The story of the private residences is more intricate, but of more interest to the genuine Knickerbocker. It is not out of place here to begin with the evacuation. The one authority on the subject is Mr. Duer, who came to the city from his exile in November, 1783. He tells us that Nos. 1 to 11 Broadway comprised the residences of Captain Archibald Kennedy, John Watts, Robert Livingston, John Stevens, Augustus Van Cortlandt, and Henry White. Of these only Livingston and Stevens were patriots.

Opposite the old City Hall on the site of the Mechanics' Bank was the "modest dwelling" of Alexander Hamilton. On the corner of King Street (now Pine) and Smith (now William) was the residence of the Philipses (a lodging house in 1783). The old building was removed in the second quarter of the last century. On the corner opposite lived one branch of the Ludlows, and opposite on Smith Street (William) was the home of the Duyckincks. Northerly, at the corner of Little Queen (Cedar) was a family of Beekmans, and directly opposite John Alsop lived later. At the lower corner of Smith (William) and Garden (Exchange Place) was the residence of the Clarksons, and later of Colonel Bauman, the postmaster, whose successor, General Bailey, kept his office at the same place. Adjoining were the Kembles, and opposite were the Costers. On Princess Street (part of Beaver) was a branch of the Van Hornes.

Great Dutch Street (part of Pearl), between Whitehall and Coenties' Slip, the vicinity of Fort George, was in colonial days the "court end of the town." Here were the

houses of the Van Hornes, de Lanceys, de Peysters, Livingstons, Bayards, Morrisises, Crugers, and other provincial notabilities. But before the Revolution Wall Street had become a rival seat of fashion. Upon it lived the Verplancks, Marstons, Janeways, Ludlows, Winthrops, and Whites, all Tories, who remained in the city during the war. The Whig families of Lamb, Dunning, Beekman, and Van Horne "got in among them," Daniel McCormick kept bachelor's hall and open house, and Mrs. Daubeney's house was well filled with members of the first congress in 1789. Livingston's press, the royal gazette—later an auction room,—was at the corner of Wall and Pearl.

Cortlandt Street enjoyed an ephemeral reputation for fashion, among its residents being Sir John Temple, Colonel Duer, and the British Consul Crawford, who married a Livingston; and later, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, we find here the Ardens, Roosevelts, Carows, Kermit's, Hamersleys, Van Benschotens, and John Jacob Astor.

Some time later attempts were made to convert Park Place (old Robinson Street) into a fashionable center. With the streets immediately below and above, Barclay and Warren, it belonged to the Third or "Silk Stocking" Ward. Chambers Street had some prospect of coming into favor, but lost its opportunity in the real estate disaster which followed the panic of 1837, and when recovery was made the tendency was already uptown. The different stages of the movement were approximately as follows: 1820-35, Cortlandt to Warren; 1835-50, Warren to Bleecker; after 1850, to Union Square and beyond. The side streets were well occupied throughout this onward progress. A still surviving example of the residential construction on an ambitious but refined plan is the Colonnade Row on Lafayette Place¹¹ (now Lafayette Street).

¹¹The offices of THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE occupy a portion of the most southerly of these old Colonnade mansions (41 Lafayette Place,—new number, 428 Lafayette Street).

Mr. Crosby, the proprietor of the great Rutgers farm on the east side, undertook to divert the residential movement to that quarter, and there was a similar attempt by the Stuyvesants, who, indeed, attained a marked measure of success. The Historical Society Building was erected on the "Old Bowery" property on Second Avenue, many fine houses sprang up in the neighborhood, and St. Mark's Place east of Second Avenue was at one time in high favor. The immediate vicinity of St. Mark's Church held its own for a long period, but has finally yielded to that wonderful transformation process which must be caused by some social microbe peculiar to New York, keeping us on the move every May Day. On the west side beyond Broadway Washington Square became finely improved, Broadway itself meantime holding its own—the two fine granite residences and the stylish New York Hotel being notable. Then came the final move up Fifth Avenue (not forgetting University Place) from Washington Square, with Madison Square as the *Ultima Thule* in 1851, when Corporal Thompson's house went down for the stately Fifth Avenue Hotel, and fashion found its supposed final goal along the seeming limitless northerly reaches of the avenue. But the day will come when it will jump the Harlem—if that stream be not filled up before,—and the Riverside Drive will extend to Tarrytown, as did the famous way from Rome to Naples in the great days of the Eternal City.

An examination of the directory of 1807 tells us something of the location of the residences in that year.

Of the clergy, Rev. Benjamin Moore lived in Vesey Street, Rev. John Henry Hobart in Greenwich Street, and Rev. William du Bois (of Roman Catholic St. Peter's) in Warren Street.

The physicians were naturally scattered. David Hosack lived at 45 Broadway; Alexander Hosack, 87 Liberty; John Rodgers, 14 Cortlandt; Nicholas Romaine, Corlear's Hook; George Christian Anthon, 11 Broad; Samuel

L. Mitchill, 68 Rutgers; James McNevin, Partition (Fulton); Edmund Miller, 199 Broadway; Valentine Seaman, 90 Beekman; Benjamin Kissam, Partition; William Hamersley, Cortlandt, and Richard V. Kissam, Fulton.

Lawyers:—Cadwallader D. Colden, 20 Pearl; Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 59 Wall (residence, corner of Broadway and Leonard); John Wells, 46 Pine; Thomas Addis Emmet, 90 Nassau (residence, 9 Fair, now Fulton); Nathaniel Pendleton, 17 Wall; Richard Riker, 12 Wall; William Slosson, 22 Pine; P. C. Van Wyck, 1 Wall.

Among other gentlemen of prominence were: John Jacob Astor, 71 Liberty; Samuel Gouverneur, 75 Liberty; Jacob LeRoy, 81 Liberty; Peter V. Ledyard, Beekman; Robert Lenox, Pine; J. V. B. Varick, Pine; General Matthew Clarkson, 26 Pearl; Sir James Jay, 99 Greenwich; Philip Keteltas, Cherry; William Keteltas, Greenwich; John Stevens, 7 Broadway (later Delmonico had a house here); Wynant Van Zandt, 35 William; Sylvanus Miller, 1 Wall; Colonel Jacob Morton, 11 Wall; Mrs. Frederick Rhineland, Greenwich; Colonel Swarthout, 356 Broadway; Rufus King, 29 Robinson; Egbert Benson, 40 Wall; Mrs. Bradish, 1 Broadway; John Broome, lieutenant-governor, 75 Stone; James Boorman, 64 Greenwich; Jacob Barker, 80 South (residence, 34 Beekman); John Rutherford, 219 Broadway.

Fraunces' Tavern (erected 1719), probably the oldest building in the city, now the home of the Sons of the Revolution, was at the period we have been describing either a residence or counting-house. It had been bought in 1801 by Thomas Gardner, the great dry goods merchant of his day; the directory, however, assigns him to William Street. The long sign, "Washington's Headquarters" (a misnomer, by the way), now in the cellar of the Historical Society, hung on the Pearl Street side until the 'eighties,

when a granddaughter of Samuel Fraunces obtained possession of it, by courtesy, I suppose, of the innkeeper.

Of the merchants, among the chief advertisers in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* were: Bailey and Bogart, 107 Front; J. W. Satterthwaite, 86 Water; James Thompson, 135 Pearl; Minturn and Champlin, Franklin Wharf; John Marston, 65 South; Theophylact Bache, 87 Water; Jacob Schieffelin and Son, 195 Pearl; John E. Caldwell and Company, 30 South; David Gardner, 52 South; John Delafield and Company, 119 Front, and John Gardner and Thomas Gardner, 212 William. In Broadway were the places of business of Thomas Clarkson, No. 65; William Edgar, 39; Henry T. Kipp, 167; John McVickar, 281; John R. Livingston, 67, and Anthony L. Bleecker (an auctioneer), 94. In Wall Street were David Bethune, No. 92 (house at Greenwich); G. de Peyster, 11 (house, 85 Pearl); Thomas C. Pearsall, 43, Thomas Buchanan, 41; J. S. Gordon, 40, and A. H. Lawrence, 40 (house, 23 Robinson). In Water Street were Theophilus Bache, 87; Isaac A. Kipp, 29; Abraham Varick, 56, and Robert Goelet, 59. Pearl Street: H. G. Aspinwall, Robert and Walter Bowne, Oliver Kane, Isaac Lawrence (whose house was in Cortlandt Street), R. C. and Peter Ludlow, John Murray, James Roosevelt, Gerard Walton, John Ward, Willet Hicks, William Irving, Henry Barclay, Peter Goelet, and John T. Glover. State Street: William Bayard. Cedar Street: A. L. Bleecker and David Grim. South Street: John B. Coles and Daniel Ludlow. Stone Street: John Broome and John B. Murray. Cortlandt Street: G. H. Bleecker and D. M. Clarkson. Washington Street: Camman, Le Roy, and Malcolm.

The oldest of the fine mansions was the de Peyster house, which stood in Queen Street (Pearl), nearly opposite Cedar, with a garden which in Governor Bellomont's time reached to the East River. It was the residence of George

Clinton when governor of the state. But the house which longest retained its fame as a great colonial mansion was the Walton house opposite the present establishment of Harper Brothers. It also had a garden that extended to the river. This was an edifice of Holland brick, fifty feet front and three stories high. It was built in 1754 by William Walton, a great merchant, and president of the Chamber of Commerce. Upon the receipt of the news of the conquest of Canada in 1759 the house was illuminated.

The Kennedy mansion, long known as No. 1 Broadway, and styled the headquarters of Washington (though this was never the case), was destroyed to make room for the fine Washington Building constructed by Cyrus W. Field. Originally built for Capt. Archibald Kennedy of the British navy (later earl of Cassilis, a Scotch peerage), who married a daughter of the rich Watts Family of New York, it became the headquarters of General Putnam in 1776, and at the same time was a barracks for the continental troops. From its roof it is of tradition that Miss Moncrief, the daughter of a British officer and a victim of Burr's seductive wiles, signalled to the British in the bay the New York movements—but tradition is not always reliable.

The Macomb mansion was on Broadway, No. 54, a little below Trinity Church. After its occupation by Mr. Otto, the French *charge d'affaires*, it became the residence of the president, and was known as the Mansion House. Washington had engaged for the Franklin House with Mr. Osgood until May 1, 1790, but, cramped for room, removed in February of that year. It was one story higher than the Cherry Street house. In 1813 it was opened as a hotel under the name of the Mansion House by Bunker (39 Broadway). One of the Bunkers had kept the Tontine Coffee House some years before the Broadway house became the favorite resort for New England gentlemen.

The Franklin mansion, near the head of Dover Street at the junction of Pearl and Cherry, was, after the death

of Walter Franklin (1780), owned by Samuel Osgood, the first postmaster-general of the United States, who married the widow of Walter Franklin. The house was set in order by Mrs. Osgood and Lady Kitty Duer, and was famous as the first residence in New York of Washington after he became president. Later the large building was altered and converted into shops. The Franklin Bank was here.

In the rear of the residence of the famous old Quaker merchant in Pearl Street was the Quaker Meeting House. In this quarter, says Duer, down as far as Maiden Lane, lived the Pryors, Embrees, Leffingwells, Hickses, Hawkhursts, Hallets, Havilands, Cornells, Kenyons, Townsends, Willets, Wrights, etc. Among these were interspersed the Waltons and the Roosevelts.

THE VAN RENSSELAER FAMILY.

BY W. W. SPOONER.

in volume 112 (Continued.)

VI

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER III, sixth and last lord of the manor, the eldest son of Stephen and Catharine (Livingston) Van Rensselaer, was born in New York City, November 1, 1764. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1782, and, assuming the direction of his great estate, adopted a policy of energetic development of its lands. He placed the rentals so low that they yielded only one per cent. on a fair valuation, and in consequence soon had under cultivation some nine hundred farms of one hundred and fifty acres each, a number which was greatly increased later.

In 1789 he entered political life as a member of the assembly. He served in the state senate from 1791 to 1796, was elected lieutenant-governor in 1795 and 1798, was a candidate for governor in 1801, and was again in the assembly from 1808 to 1810. One of the first to advocate the construction of a canal between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes, he was appointed in 1810 a commissioner to report regarding the route, made a tour of investigation, and signed the favorable report on that subject submitted to the legislature in 1811. Owing, however, to the breaking out of the war with England, the enterprise was suspended for some years.

Previously to this conflict he was of the conservative party, which opposed hostilities, but he was prompt to offer

his services to the government. His connection with military affairs began in 1786, when he was made a major of infantry in the New York militia. Two years later he was promoted to a colonelcy, and in 1801 became major-general of cavalry. Retaining the latter rank he was appointed in 1812 to command the United States forces on the Canadian frontier, instituted a strong organization of the militia, and on October 13 fought the brilliant battle of Queenstown Heights, in which the British general, Brock, was killed, the American advance being led by General Van Rensselaer's kinsman, Lieutenant-Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer,⁷ who was severely wounded in the attack. All the advantage of the victory was, however, lost by the refusal of the militia to move across the river and support the successful party on the Heights, which was obliged to surrender, and the whole expedition thus resulted in failure. Voluntarily resigning his command soon afterward, the general took no further part in the war.

Upon the restoration of peace the Erie Canal project was resumed, and General Van Rensselaer again became commissioner. With this great enterprise he was identified to its successful completion, and indeed continued on the board for the rest of his life, serving as its president for many years. He was once more elected a member of the assembly in 1818, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1821, and represented his district in congress from 1823 to 1829. He occupied various other positions of prominence and dignity, including those of regent and chancellor of the New York State University, and president of the State Agricultural Society, and was the first president of the Albany Savings Bank, which was incorporated in 1820 and is now the second oldest savings institution in the state.

General Van Rensselaer's name is perpetuated by the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, the first institu-

⁷A son of Henry Kiliaen Van Rensselaer of the Claverack branch, and great-grandson of Hendrick Van Rensselaer.

tion of its special character established in the country. It was founded by him in 1824, with suitable buildings and equipment and a liberal endowment, as "a school to qualify teachers to instruct the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history to agriculture, domestic economy, and to the arts and manufactures." For some fourteen years he sustained it at his own expense. He received from Yale in 1825 the degree of LL.D.

The general was the last of the family to retain in its entirety the estate of Rensselaerswyck. The liberal and enterprising policy as its proprietor which he adopted in early manhood he pursued consistently throughout life, and and as the result the population of the manor increased immensely. But, clinging to the traditions of his race, he uniformly refused to sell lands, and thus the inhabitants of a territory covering the larger part of two great counties still occupied the ancient position of tenants of a single landlord. Moreover, all the old-time conditions and customs attaching to the tenantry were preserved in full vigor. Rents were paid not in money but in produce, the annual rates ranging from ten bushels of wheat per hundred acres in the townships earlier settled to fourteen in those of later settlement; with the addition for all farms alike of four fat hens and one day's service to the landlord with horses and wagon. "Residents of Albany," said a writer in 1887, "still remember seeing the road in the vicinity of the Manor House blocked up with long lines of wagons in from the country with wheat and chickens to pay their rent, or with loads of wood, which were generally accepted in lieu of one day's labor required." Another old usage which was retained without modification was the requirement that if any tenant disposed of his leasehold to a third party he should pay the landlord either one-fourth the amount received (whence the term "quarter-sales"), or one additional year's rent.

These various conditions and customs, though well suited

to a primitive age, in time came to be regarded by the tenantry with distaste, and though during the life of General Van Rensselaer no active dissatisfaction was manifested, it needed no penetration to see that a change was impending. Curiously enough, the agitation against the rent system which burst forth after his death resulted primarily from the policy of exceptional generosity and leniency to his tenants which he had uniformly practiced. One of the kindest and most liberal of men, he never evicted delinquent debtors, and never forced or urged payments of the rental, even when long in arrears. Thus he permitted indebtedness to accumulate and multiply, which at his death aggregated the enormous total of \$400,000. In his will, with his characteristic generosity, he provided expressly that the discharge of debts owing by persons in circumstances of poverty, misfortune, or inability should not be insisted on; but he did not think it just to his heirs, or right in any point of view, to remit lawful debts incurred to his estate through his magnanimous indulgence, especially as that estate was burdened with very heavy pecuniary obligations. He stipulated, consequently, that the debts due to him should be applied to liquidating his debts to others.

At his death the tenants, anxious about their debts and seeing these had not been remitted, were quick to apprehend that measures for settlement would follow. From this apprehension sprang the whole "Anti-Rent" propaganda, which soon assumed such formidable proportions.

The Van Rensselaer Manor was devised by the general to his two eldest sons, Stephen and William P., the former receiving the portion on the west side of the Hudson, and the latter that on the east side. The following figures (for the year 1846) indicate the extent of cultivation of the estate as left by him, with the annual revenues: Albany County—1,397 leasehold farms, covering 233,900 acres, and yielding an annual rent of 23,390 bushels of wheat; Rensselaer County—1,666 leasehold farms, having a total of 202,-

100 acres, and charged yearly with 20,210 bushels of wheat. Among his other children General Van Rensselaer divided his remaining real estate and various personal property, including lands in Saratoga and Hamilton counties, land and houses in Albany and New York City, and stocks of different kinds.

Died at the Manor House, January 26, 1839. In the public events which ensued he was always referred to as the "Old Patroon," his eldest son and principal successor, Stephen IV., being styled the "Young Patroon."

Married, 1st, 1783, Margarita Schuyler, daughter of General Philip and Catherine (Van Rensselaer) Schuyler; she was born in 1758, died 1801.

Issue:

1. Catharine Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. 1784, d. 1787.
2. Stephen Van Rensselaer, b. 1786, d. 1787.
3. *Stephen Van Rensselaer IV.*; of whom below.

General Stephen Van Rensselaer married, 2d, May 17, 1802, Cornelia Paterson, daughter of Hon. William Paterson, justice of the United States supreme court, and his wife, Cornelia Bell. The second Mrs. Van Rensselaer was born 1780 and died 1844.

Issue:

4. Catharine Van Rensselaer, b. 1803. M., June 2, 1830, Gouverneur Morris Wilkins; no issue.

5. William Paterson Van Rensselaer, b. 1805, d. in New York City, November 13, 1872. Graduated from Yale College in 1824, he spent the next four years in foreign travel, and for some time pursued further studies in Scotland and Germany. He received from his father the Rensselaer County lands of the manor, which he eventually sold. For the last twenty years of his life he resided at Rye, Westchester County, N. Y. Possessed of an ample fortune, he was noted for his practical benevolences, which, however, were exercised with avoidance of all display. He was zealous and active in the church, and his private character was most exemplary. M., 1st, May 13, 1833, Eliza Rogers, daughter of Benjamin Woolsey Rogers. Issue: i. William Paterson Van Rensselaer, b. 1835, d. 1854. ii. Susan Bayard Van Rensselaer, b. 1840, d. 1863.—Mr. Van Rensselaer m., 2d, April 4, 1839, Sarah Rogers, a sister of his

first wife. Issue: iii. Cornelia Paterson Van Rensselaer, m., April 22, 1862, John Erving. iv. Walter S. Van Rensselaer, b. 1843, d. 1865. v. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer of New York City, b. 1845, d. 1905; was a soldier in the Civil War; a member of the Loyal Legion, the Holland, St. Nicholas, and Huguenot societies, and other organizations; prominent in religious and philanthropic work; m., December 13, 1870, Olivia Atterbury, a descendant of the famous Bishop Atterbury of England and a granddaughter of Anson G. Phelps. vi. Sarah E. Van Rensselaer, b. 1847, d. 1869. vii. Arthur Van Rensselaer, b. 1848, d. 1859. viii. Catherine G. Van Rensselaer, m., June 11, 1891, Anson Phelps Atterbury. ix. Eleanor Van Rensselaer, m., June 1, 1887, Hamilton K. Fairfax.

Eighth Generation from Kiliaen the founder.—Issue of Cornelia Paterson Van Rensselaer and John Erving: i. Susan Erving. ii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Erving, m., June 11, 1895, John V. L. Pruyn (he d. 1904). iii. J. Langdon Erving. iv. Emily Elwyn Erving, m., January 22, 1895, Henry Woodward Cooper. v. Sarah E. Erving, m., April 22, 1896, James Gore King. vi. William Van Rensselaer Erving. vii. Katharine Erving. viii. Eleanor Erving. ix. Shirley Erving. x. Justine Bayard Erving.—Issue of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and Olivia Atterbury: i. Olive Atterbury Van Rensselaer. ii. Sarah Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, m. Benjamin Walworth Arnold. iii. Katharine Boudinot Van Rensselaer, d. 1897. iv. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, m., 1905, Dorothy Manson. v. William Stephen Van Rensselaer.—Issue of Eleanor Van Rensselaer and Hamilton R. Fairfax: i. Katharine Van Rensselaer Fairfax. ii. Hamilton Fairfax.

Ninth Generation from Kiliaen the founder.—Issue of Cornelia Van Rensselaer Erving and John V. L. Pruyn: i. Erving Pruyn.—Issue of Emily Elwyn Erving and Henry Woodward Cooper: i. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Cooper.—Issue of Sarah E. Erving and James Gore King: i. James Gore King. ii. Eleanor Erving King. iii. Edward Ramsay King.

6. Philip Van Rensselaer, b. 1806, d. 1871. M., October 17, 1839, Mary R. Tallmadge, daughter of General James Tallmadge; she was b. 1817, d. 1872. Issue:

i. James Tallmadge Van Rensselaer of Fairfield, Conn. M., 1897, Mrs. Minnie (Sackett) Parker.

ii. Philip Van Rensselaer, d. March 22, 1882. M., September 8, 1872, Edith Biddle.

7. *Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D. D.*; of whom below.

8. Henry Bell Van Rensselaer, b. 1810, d. March 23, 1864. He was graduated from West Point in 1831, but resigned from the army and engaged in farming near Ogdensburg, N. Y. From his

father he inherited lands in Saratoga County. In 1841-3 he was a member of congress; later he was connected with mining enterprises. At the beginning of the Civil War he returned to the army, being appointed chief of staff to General Winfield Scott, with the rank of brigadier-general. "He became inspector-general with the rank of colonel on the retirement of General Scott, served in the department of the Rappahannock in April and August, 1862, subsequently in the Third Army Corps, and in the department of the Ohio from September 17 until his death." M., August 22, 1833, Elizabeth Ray King, daughter of Governor John Alsop and Mary (Ray) King. Issue: i. Mary Van Rensselaer, m., April 28, 1874, John Henry Screven. ii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer, m., April 26, 1859, James L. Kennedy. iii. Stephen Van Rensselaer of New York City, b. October 29, 1836, d. January 20, 1904; captain in the United States army; a member of the Union Club, St. Nicholas Society, and other organizations; m., December 9, 1869, Mathilda C. Heckscher, daughter of Charles Heckscher. iv. Henry Van Rensselaer, d. young. v. Euphemia Van Rensselaer (Sister Marie Dolores). vi. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, m., June 3, 1873, George Waddington. vii. John King Van Rensselaer of New York City, b. at Ogdensburg, N. Y., July 17, 1847; president of the Stirling Fire Insurance Company; m., October 24, 1871, May Denning King, daughter of Archibald Gracie King. viii. Katharine Van Rensselaer, m., January 17, 1870, Dr. Francis Delafield. ix. Rev. Henry Van Rensselaer, S. J. x. Westerlo Van Rensselaer, d. young.

Eighth Generation from Kiliaen the founder.—Issue of Mary Van Rensselaer and John Henry Screven: i. Elizabeth Ray Screven, m., January 5, 1897, Ernest E. Lorillard.—Issue of Cornelia Van Rensselaer and James L. Kennedy: i. H. Van Rensselaer Kennedy, m., March 4, 1886, Marion Robbins.—Issue of Captain Stephen Van Rensselaer and Mathilda C. Heckscher: i. Charles A. Van Rensselaer, merchant in New York City; m., December 12, 1899, Caroline E. Fitz Gerald, daughter of Desmond and Elizabeth (Salisbury) Fitz Gerald of Brookline, Mass. ii. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, m., February 27, 1900, John Magee Ellsworth. iii. Stephen Van Rensselaer, m. Marion W. Farlin. iv. Mathilde Van Rensselaer.—Issue of Elizabeth Van Rensselaer and George Waddington: i. Mary E. Waddington. ii. Euphemia Waddington, m. Christopher B. Wyatt of New York.—Issue of John King Van Rensselaer, b. July 5, 1872; resides in New York City; m., January 30, 1896, Helen F. Galindo. ii. Frederick Harold Van Rensselaer, b. January 6, 1874, d. August 6, 1903; m., April 23, 1898, Josephine Lucy Grinnell, daughter of Robert Minturn and Sophie (Van Alen) Grinnell.—Issue of Katharine Van Rens-

selaer and Dr. Francis Delafield: i. Elizabeth Ray Delafied. ii. Julia Floyd Delafield, m., November 11, 1896, Frederick S. Crosby. iii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Delafield. iv. Edward

Ninth Generation from Kiliaen the founder.—Issue of

H. Van Rensselaer Kennedy and Marion Robbins: i. Rachel Kennedy. ii. Marion Kennedy. iii. Maud Kennedy.—Issue of Charles A. Van Rensselaer and Caroline E. Fitz Gerald: i. Charles A. Van Rensselaer, Jr., b. September 29, 1902. ii. Stephen Van Rensselaer, b. November 28, 1905.—Issue of Elizabeth Van Rensselaer and John Magee Ellsworth: i. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer Ellsworth. ii. Matilda Coster Ellsworth. iii. Stephen Van Rensselaer Ellsworth.—Issue of Frederick Harold Van Rensselaer and Josephine Lucy Grinnell: i. L. Sylvia Grinnell Van Rensselaer.—Issue of Julia F. Delafield and Frederic S. Crosby: i. Katharine Van Rensselaer Crosby.

9. Cornelia Paterson Van Rensselaer, b. 1812. M., February 16, 1847, Robert J. Turnbull, M. D. Issue: i. Katharine Euphemia Turnbull.

10. Alexander Van Rensselaer, b. 1814, d. May 8, 1878. M., 1st, October 21, 1851, Mary Howland, daughter of S. S. Howland; 2d, June 30, 1864, Louisa Barnewall, daughter of William and Clementina (Rutgers) Barnewall. Issue (by second marriage):

i. Louisa Van Rensselaer. M., June 18, 1887, Edmund L. Baylies.

ii. Mabel Van Rensselaer. M., M. V. R. Johnson.

iii. Alice Van Rensselaer.

11. Euphemia White Van Rensselaer, b. 1816, d. 1888. M., May 2, 1843, John Church Cruger. Issue:

i. Stephen Van Rensselaer Cruger, b. 1844, d. June 23, 1898. M., April 21, 1868, Jullie G. Storrow.

ii. Cornelia Cruger.

iii. Catharine Cruger.

VII

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER IV., eldest surviving son of General Stephen Van Rensselaer (by his first wife, Margarita Schuyler), was born on the manor, March 29, 1789. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1808, and in 1839, at the age of fifty, inherited from his father all of the manor lying in Albany County. He made great improvements in the Manor House, which indeed he caused to be largely reconstructed (from designs by Upjohn) and entirely refitted. Soon after his father's death began the

"Anti-Rent" agitation on his property, which in its origin, as seen above, was mainly due to the unwillingness of his delinquent debtors to discharge their arrearages. It soon assumed the character of an economic and political movement against the whole system of leasehold land tenures, special stress being laid by the agitators upon the burdensomeness, as claimed, of the "quarter-sales" provisions. Efforts at compromise failed, and the movement, prosecuted with great acrimony and attended by serious disturbances and even bloodshed, continued for several years. The questions involved were finally settled legally by amendments to the constitution of 1846, which abolished both the leasehold tenures and the quarter-sales. The lands of the manor were sold by the proprietor at great sacrifice.

To the end of his life he continued to reside in the Manor House, in the enjoyment of an estate which, while no longer of vast territorial extent, was of most solid character and highly productive. He occupied the position of major-general of militia. Personally he was a man of high attainments, and was much beloved. He was known as the "Young Patroon" and sometimes the "last of the patroons."

Died May 25, 1868.

Married, January 31, 1817, Harriet Elizabeth Bayard, daughter of William Bayard of New York City; she was born in 1799 and died in 1875 at the Manor House.

Issue:

1. Margaret S. Van Rensselaer, b. 1819, d. September 5, 1897. M., 1st, 1837, John de P. Douw. Issue: i. Henry A. Douw. ii. Harriet Van Rensselaer Douw, b. 1842, d. 1862.—Mrs. Margaret S. (Van Rensselaer) Douw m., 2d, 1851, Wilmot Johnson.

2. Cornelia P. Van Rensselaer, b. 1823, d. May, 1897. M., June 10, 1846, Nathaniel Thayer. Issue:

i. Stephen Van Rensselaer Thayer, b. 1847, d. October, 1871. M., November 2, 1870, Alice Robeson, daughter of Andrew Robeson. Issue: 1. Stephen Van Rensselaer Thayer, m., June 5, 1895, Julia Porter, daughter of Augustus Porter (their children being Alice Thayer, Julia Porter Thayer, and Mary Allen Thayer).

ii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Thayer. M., November 24,

1868, J. Hampden Robb. Issue: 1. N. Thayer Robb, m., November 25, 1895, Beatrix Henderson, daughter of Charles R. Henderson (their children being Janet Henderson Robb, James Hampden Robb, and Cornelia Van Rensselaer Robb). 2. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Robb. 3. Louisa Robb, m., April 8, 1896, Goodhue Livingston (their children being Goodhue Livingston, Jr., and Cornelia Thayer Livingston). 4. Harriet Bayard Robb.

iii. Nathaniel Thayer. M., 1st, February 1, 1881, Cornelia C. Barroll. Issue: 1. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Thayer. 2. Anna Morton Thayer, m., 1904, William Patton (two children). 3. Sarah Barroll Thayer.—Nathaniel Thayer m., 2d, June 11, 1887, Pauline Revere.

iv. Harriet Bayard Thayer, b. 1853, d. 1891. M., October 11, 1883, J. Forrester Andrew. Issue: 1. Cornelia Thayer Andrew, m., 1904, Dudley Clark of Boston (two children). 2. Elizabeth Andrew, m., 1905, Charles Ellis Mason.

v. Eugene Van Rensselaer Thayer. M., 1880, Susan Spring. Issue: 1. Eugene Van Rensselaer Thayer, Jr., m. Gladys Brooks. 2. Katharine Thayer, m. Howland Russell (one child). 3. Susan Thayer.

vi. John E. Thayer, b. 1862. M., 1886, Evelyn Forbes. Issue: 1. John E. Thayer. 2. Evelyn Thayer. 3. Nora Thayer. 4. Nathalie Thayer.

vii. Bayard Thayer. M., September 1, 1896, Ruth Simpkins. Issue: 1. Ruth Thayer. 2. Nathaniel Thayer. 3. Constance Thayer.

3. Stephen Van Rensselaer, b. 1824, d. 1861. M., August 20, 1858, Annie Louise Wild; no issue.

4. Catharine Van Rensselaer, b. 1826. M., October 14, 1856, Nathaniel Berry. Issue: i. Catharine Van Rensselaer Berry. ii. Walter Van Rensselaer Berry. iii. Nathalie Berry.

5. Justine Van Rensselaer, b. 1828. M., February, 1853, Howard Townsend. Issue:

i. Justine Van Rensselaer Townsend, b. 1853, d. 1881. M., June 23, 1877, Thomas H. Barber of the United States army.

ii. Howard Townsend, b. August 23, 1858. M., 1st, April 17, 1888, Sophie Dickey. Issue: 1. Sophie Townsend. 2.

Howard Townsend, d. young.—Howard Townsend m., 2d, October, 1894, Anne Lowndes Langdon. Issue: 3. Anne Langdon Townsend. 4. Howard Van Rensselaer Townsend. 5. Eugene Langdon Townsend. 6. Philip Schuyler Townsend.

iii. Stephen Van Rensselaer Townsend, b. October, 1860, d. January 15, 1901. M., May 22, 1888, Janet Eckford King, daughter of Cornelius L. King. Issue: 1. Janet King Townsend. 2. Margaret Schuyler Townsend. 3. Stephen Van Rensselaer Townsend. 4. Justine Van Rensselaer Townsend.

- iv. Harriet Bayard Townsend. M., April 28, 1886, Thomas H. Barber of the United States army. Issue: 1. Thomas H. Barber. 2. Justine Van Rensselaer Barber.
- 6. *Bayard Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.
- 7. Harriet Van Rensselaer. M., 1863, J. Schuyler Crosby. Issue:
 - i. Stephen Van Rensselaer Crosby. M., September 18, 1895, Henrietta Marion Grew, daughter of Henry Sturgis Grew. Issue: 1. Henry Grew Crosby. 2. Katharine Crosby.
 - ii. Angelica Schuyler Crosby. M., 1903, John B. Henderson. Issue, a daughter, b. July 5, 1906.
 - 8. Eugene Van Rensselaer, b. October 12, 1840. M., 1865, Sally K. Pendleton. Issue:
 - i. Elizabeth K. Van Rensselaer.
 - ii. Rev. Stephen Van Rensselaer, resides in Monticello, N. Y. M., October 10, 1900, Mary Thorn Carpenter, who d. October, 1902.

REV. CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER, D. D., seventh child and fourth surviving son of Stephen Van Rensselaer III. (his mother being the latter's second wife, Cornelia Paterson), was born at the Manor House, May 26, 1808. He was graduated from Yale in 1827, and then studied law, being admitted to the bar of New York in 1830. Concluding, however, to engage in the ministry, he pursued the necessary studies to that end at the Union Theological Seminary of Prince Edward County, Va., and the Princeton Theological Seminary. He was ordained in the Presbyterian ministry in 1833. During the next two years he devoted himself very earnestly to missionary labors among the slaves in Virginia. He was installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Burlington, N. J., in 1837, but resigned that charge three years later.

For the next two or three years he resided in Washington, D. C., having pastoral charge of the Second Presbyterian Church of that city. In 1843 he accepted an invitation from the board of directors of the Princeton Theological Seminary to undertake an agency for increasing the endowment of the institution. In starting upon this work he made a personal contribution of \$2,000 to the fund.

The results of his efforts exceeded all expectations, the sum of \$100,000 being raised.

From 1847 until his death he occupied the important position of corresponding secretary and principal executive officer of the Presbyterian board of education. Introducing new and enlightened methods in the administration of this office, he greatly extended the scope of the educational work of the church, also founding and editing the *Presbyterian Magazine* and *The Home, the School, and Church*.

He received the degree of doctor of divinity from the University of New York in 1845.

Dr. Van Rensselaer was one of the most conspicuous figures of his times in the Presbyterian Church, and is remembered especially for the great practical usefulness of his labors in its behalf. His life was distinguished by ceaseless energy, zeal, and the sincerest piety. During his last illness he received the unexampled compliment of a message of affectionate condolence from the general assembly (then in session), signed by all its officers and members. He made it a uniform rule to donate to charity whatever money he received for his services, and in addition was a very liberal giver from his private means. Selections from his writings were published in 1861, under the title of "Miscellaneous Sermons, Essays, and Addresses." These include his notable "Historical Discourse on the Occasion of the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lake George," many funeral orations, and papers on theological and educational subjects.

Died at Burlington, N. J., July 25, 1860.

Married, September 13, 1836, Catherine Ledyard Cogswell, daughter of Dr. Mason Fitch and Mary Austin (Ledyard) Cogswell of Connecticut. She was born September 22, 1811, at Hartford, Conn.; died September 13, 1836. Her father (a graduate of Yale, 1780) was a descendant of the Cogswell Family which came from Wilts County, England; and on the side of his mother (Alice Fitch) traced

his ancestry to the distinguished Fitch Family of Connecticut and also to the famous Captain John Mason. Mrs. Van Rensselaer's mother, Mary Austin (Ledyard) Cogswell, was a daughter of John Ledyard, who came from England in 1700, and was collaterally related to Colonel William Ledyard, the hero of Fort Griswold.

Issue:

1. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, b. January 5, 1838. He was a captain in the Thirteenth Infantry, United States army, and served with credit and distinction in the Civil War. D. at Nashville, Tenn., October 7, 1864, from the effects of wounds received at the battle of Mission Ridge.
2. Philip Livingston Van Rensselaer, b. November 24, 1839; was a major in the Second New Jersey Cavalry; d. at Vevey, Switzerland, March 10, 1873. M. Anne Whitmore of Boston, Mass.; no issue.
3. Charles Chauncey Van Rensselaer, b. January 16, 1842, d. May 17, 1843.
4. Ledyard Van Rensselaer, b. November 20, 1843; was a physician at Burlington, N. J.; d. March 26, 1893.
5. Alice Cogswell Van Rensselaer, b. March 19, 1846, d. April 18, 1878. M., May 7, 1868, Rev. Edward B. Hodge, son of Hugh L. Hodge, M.D., LL.D., and Margaret E. (Aspinwall) Hodge. He was b. February 5, 1841, d. June 15, 1906; was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1859 and the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1863; was pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Burlington, N. J., from 1864 to 1893; was corresponding secretary of the Presbyterian board of education and trustee and director of the Princeton Theological Seminary; received the degree of D.D. from Princeton in 1893; resided in Philadelphia. Issue: i. Margaret Hodge. ii. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer Hodge, killed in China during the "Boxer" troubles, while serving in that country as a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Church; m. Elsie Sinclair of Philadelphia. iii. Edward B. Hodge, Jr.; m. Gretchen Green. iv. Catharine Hodge.
6. Elizabeth Wadsworth Van Rensselaer, b. February 22, 1848, d. April 17, 1886. M., October 6, 1868, General Edward Burd Grubb of New Jersey. He was b. at Burlington, N. J., November 13, 1841, son of Edward Burd Grubb, Sr., and is descended from a family of large landed estate, derived by patent from William Penn. He was graduated with honors from Burlington College in 1860; served with distinction in the Civil War, rising through various grades to the rank of brigadier-general. General Grubb is one of the most prominent and honored citizens of New

Jersey. He was the republican candidate for governor in 1888, and the following year was appointed by President Harrison United States minister to Spain. In that capacity he performed valuable services, among these being the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty with the Spanish government. Issue: i. Euphemia Van Rensselaer Grubb, m., November 20, 1895, Charles D. Halsey, their children being: 1. Van Rensselaer Halsey. 2. Charles Day Halsey.

7. Alexander Van Rensselaer, b. October 1, 1850. He was graduated from Princeton in the class of 1871; is a well-known citizen of Philadelphia. M., January 27, 1898, Mrs. Sarah (Drexel) Fell, widow of John Fell and daughter of Anthony Joseph and Ellen (Rozet) Drexel of Philadelphia.

VIII

BAYARD VAN RENSSELAER, second son of Stephen Van Rensselaer IV. and Harriet Elizabeth (Bayard) Van Rensselaer, was born in Albany, September 8, 1833. He was educated at Churchill's Military Academy at Sing Sing, N. Y.

Died at Pau, France, at the early age of twenty-five, January 12, 1859.

Married, 1854, Laura Reynolds, youngest daughter of Marcus T. Reynolds, a prominent lawyer of Albany.

Issue:

1. *William Bayard Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

2. Howard Van Rensselaer, b. June 26, 1858. He received his early education at the Albany Normal School and St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., and was graduated at Yale as bachelor of philosophy in 1881 and at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons as doctor of medicine in 1884. After eighteen months of service as interne in the New York Hospital he went abroad and for two years (1887-9) pursued further studies in the leading European hospitals. Returning to Albany, he became prominent in his profession and actively identified with the local hospitals, as well as with the Albany Medical College, in which he has long been a prominent member of the teaching staff. Dr. Van Rensselaer is widely known as a writer on medical and sanitary subjects, and is editor of the *Albany Medical Annals*.

IX

WILLIAM BAYARD VAN RENSSELAER, eldest son

of Bayard and Laura (Reynolds) Van Rensselaer, is now the head of the Van Rensselaer Family, and if the entail had continued would be the eighth lord of the manor. In his residence are preserved a large portion of the wood-work and some of the furniture of the Van Rensselaer Manor House. He was born in Albany, October 4, 1856, was graduated from Harvard in 1879, and then studied law one year at the Harvard Law School and afterward in the office of Marcus T. Hun, a noted jurist in Albany. After his admission to the bar, in 1881, he practiced his profession for a time, but discontinued it to take up the management of the Van Rensselaer estate.

He has since been prominently identified with business and financial interests in Albany. In 1900 he was elected president of the Albany Savings Bank, the largest financial institution in that city, of which his great-grandfather, Stephen Van Rensselaer III., was the first president (1820-39). He is also president of the Savings Bank Association of New York State, president of the Albany Terminal Warehouse Company, vice-president of the New York State National Bank, and vice-president of the Union Trust Company of Albany. He is one of the executive committee of the New York State Normal College at Albany and a member of the chapter of All Saints' (Episcopalian) Cathedral.

Married, November 3, 1880, Louisa Greenough Lane, daughter of Professor George M. Lane, for many years head of the classical department in Harvard University, and Frances Gardiner.

(To be continued.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FIRST EXPERIENCE AS A SURVEYOR.

BY WALTER BUELL.

WASHINGTON'S early education was in the direction to fit him in an especial manner for the practical work of a surveyor. After having exhausted the possibilities of the elementary school, which he had before attended, he was taken into the family of his brother Lawrence, that he might have the benefit of a better one than existed in that neighborhood. It seems to have been intended that he should attain a thorough and practical business education—such as should fit him for all the duties of an extensive colonial land owner and planter. Perhaps the possibility of his becoming a magistrate or burgess was also present, as the place that awaited him in the society of Virginia was such as to warrant so modest an ambition. There are now in existence several of his school-books, into one of which are copied, with infinite pains, forms for contracts, land conveyances, leases, mortgages, etc. In another are preserved the field-notes and calculations of surveys, which he made as a matter of practice—kept and proved with the same exactness that would have been expected had the result been intended to form the basis of practical transactions. Not the least advantage of Washington's sojourn with his brother was the fact that it introduced him, at once, into the highest and, at the same time, the best society of the colony. Lawrence had become one of the most honored and prominent men in Virginia. His wealth, his social position and that of the Fairfax family, his sterling character and unquestioned ability, had united to advance him,

and he was a member of the house of burgesses, as well as adjutant-general of his district, with the rank and pay of a major.

But a few miles below Mount Vernon, as Lawrence Washington had called his estate, and upon the same wooded ridge that bordered the Potomac, was Belvoir, the seat of the Fairfax family. Occupying the ample and elegantly appointed house was the Hon. William Fairfax, father-in-law of Lawrence Washington—a gentleman who had attained social, political, and military prominence in England and in the East and West Indies. He had come to Virginia to take charge of the enormous estate of his cousin, Lord Fairfax, which, according to the original grant from the crown, was “for all the lands between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers.” This grant had been very liberally construed to include a large part of the land drained by affluents of these streams, embracing a considerable portion of the Shenandoah valley. In the midst of this princely domain, the Fairfaxes lived in the style of English gentry. Their house was always open to guests of the right class and to no others. The monotony of life was occasionally broken by the arrival in the Potomac of an English war vessel, when its officers were certain to be found at the Fairfax and Washington tables, telling their stories of service in distant seas, of battle, travel, and all the various experiences that a naval life involves. Washington was made a sharer, on terms nearly approaching equality, in much of this social intercourse; he felt the refining and broadening influence of contact with accomplished and experienced men of the world, and, not least important, he heard the tales and jests of the seafaring visitors, and hearing, was enthralled. At the age of fourteen he became infatuated with the idea of entering the British army. His age was suitable, the profession was an excellent one for a young gentleman desiring to push his fortunes; a frigate at that time lay in the river, Lawrence Washington and Mr.

Fairfax approved, and nothing seemed necessary to carrying the plan into effect but the consent of the lad's mother. Even this difficulty yielded to argument. George's clothes were packed, and he was ready to go aboard, when the mother's heart failed her, and she withdrew her consent, thus saving Washington to his country. It is more likely, considering his training and disposition, that, had the boy sailed upon that cruise, he would have directed a vessel or fleet against the revolting colonies; called them rebels, not patriots; served the king, not the people. Back to school he went, no doubt chagrined and crestfallen, and remained for nearly two years. At the end of that time his teacher discharged him as finished, as, no doubt he was, so far as the capacity of that master was concerned. These two years were passed in the study of the higher mathematics, his intention being to fit himself for any business or professional emergency, civil or military.

After leaving school, Washington was much more frequently at Belvoir than before. Lord Fairfax, the owner of the estate, was now an inmate of the house, having come to inspect his possessions, and determined to make Virginia his home. He was much impressed by the fertility and beauty of the country; and also, gossip had it, having never recovered from a wound to his heart and pride, inflicted in his youth by a fickle beauty, who preferred a ducal coronet to his more modest rank after the wedding dress was made, was glad to escape from England to the freedom and retirement of Virginia. Lord Fairfax was not far from sixty years of age, tall, erect, and vigorous in figure; kind-hearted, generous but eccentric, and not a man to take every comer into his friendship and confidence. He at once showed a marked liking for the tall, handsome, reserved, and dignified young man, whom he so often met at Belvoir. No one longer regarded Washington as a boy, though he was but fifteen years of age. Lord Fairfax was a devoted sportsman, and set up his hunters and hounds

at Belvoir, as he had been accustomed in England. Had anything been necessary to confirm his friendship for Washington, it was only to find, as his lordship did, that the latter was as hard and intrepid a rider as he, and would follow a fox over the dangerous and difficult hunting grounds of Virginia with as little faltering or fatigue.

So this oddly assorted couple became close friends and constant companions, in the hunt and elsewhere. The old nobleman, *litterateur*, and man of the world, treated the sturdy young man as a social and intellectual equal, and, from the fullness of experience, unconsciously added, day by day, to his slender knowledge of the world; while the latter, probably quite as unconsciously, in a measure repaid the debt, as his knowledge of the country and of colonial life enabled him to do. One important effect of his intimacy was that it resulted in securing to Washington his first opportunity for testing his new-found freedom, by undertaking an independent enterprise. This happened incidentally, yet was the starting-point of the young man's fortunes.

As has been said, Lord Fairfax's estate in Virginia extended beyond the Blue Ridge, and to a considerable distance up the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. West of the former range no survey had ever been made, and reports had come that the country was filling up with lawless squatters, who invariably selected the best lands for settlement, and were in danger of gaining such a foothold that to oust them would be a matter of no little difficulty. Lord Fairfax desired a survey of this wild and uncivilized territory to be made. It was a service requiring not only skill as a surveyor, but ability to endure great fatigue, courage to face danger, determination and ingenuity to meet and overcome difficulties—yet all these qualities he deemed combined in Washington, who had barely reached the age of sixteen years. The committing of so important a trust to one so young seems almost inconceiv-

able, and this fact is one of the best indications of what the youth must have been, not only in bone and muscle, but in brain, self-reliance, and maturity, at an age when most boys are thinking more of their balls and kites than of the serious duties of life.

Washington eagerly accepted the proposal of Lord Fairfax, and immediately set about his preparation for departure, which occupied but a few days. In company with George William Fairfax, a young man of twenty-two years, son of William Fairfax, he set out in the saddle, during the month of March, 1748. Mr. John S. C. Abbott, in his "Life of Washington," describes the experience of the young men in a manner characteristically picturesque. He says:

"The crests of the mountains were still whitened with ice and snow. Chilling blasts swept the plains. The streams were swollen into torrents by the spring rains. The Indians, however, whose hunting parties ranged these forests, were at that time friendly. Still there were vagrant bands wandering here and there, ever ready to kill and plunder.

. . . Though these wilds may be called pathless, still there were, here and there, narrow trails which the moccasined foot of the savage had trodden for uncounted centuries. They led, in a narrow track, scarcely two feet in breadth, through dense thickets, over craggy hills, and along the banks of placid streams or foaming torrents. .

. . It was generally necessary to camp at night wherever darkness might overtake them. With their axes a rude cabin was easily constructed, roofed with bark, which afforded a comfortable shelter from wind and rain. The forest presented an ample supply of game. Delicious brook trout were easily taken from the streams. Exercise and fresh air gave appetite. With a roaring fire crackling before the camp, illumining the forest far and wide, the adventurers cooked their supper and ate it with a relish such as the pampered guests in lordly banqueting halls

have seldom experienced. Their sleep was probably more sweet than was ever found on beds of down. Occasionally they would find shelter for the night in the wigwam of the friendly Indian."

In amusing contrast to this rose-colored view of life in the woods are the terse and evidently feeling words from the pen of Washington himself, recorded in his journal under date of March 15, 1748: "Worked hard till night and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, not being so good a woodman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly and went into the bed, as they call it, when, to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or anything else, but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep no more in a bed, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire." Again, after being much longer away from home, Washington says in a letter to a friend: "Yours gave me the more pleasure as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed. But after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire on a little hay, straw, fodder, or bear-skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets nearest the fire. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericksburg."

With these and similar experiences, Washington and his companion, with their little party, consisting of an Indian guide and a few white attendants, continued through the weary weeks and months occupied in the fulfillment of their mission. This work was well and thoroughly done; the

surveys made were afterwards proved to be careful and accurate. The party finally returned to civilization on the twelfth day of April, 1749, more than a year after they set out. The report made to Lord Fairfax proved a source of immediate profit to Washington, who, though but a little more than seventeen years of age, was soon after made one of the official surveyors of the colony of Virginia. His late employer soon removed to a point in the newly-surveyed territory, beyond the Blue Ridge, where he set aside ten thousand acres of land, to constitute his home estate, where he projected a grand manor and house, after the English style. The proposed site of his dwelling—which, though Abbott describes it in glowing terms, was never built—is about twelve miles from the present village of Winchester.

Washington pursued his labors with the additional sanction given by his office, which entitled his surveys to become a matter of official record. As will be readily understood, the demand for such services in a new country was great, and, as the number of competent men was small, his labors commanded a correspondingly large remuneration. So for three years he continued patiently working, his ability and industry commanding respect and gaining a daily wider recognition. He was so accurate in all his processes that no considerable error was ever charged against him, and a title, finding its basis in one of his surveys, was rarely disputed. The minute acquaintance with the soil, timber, and other natural advantages of the region, thus obtained, proved of great practical value to him in after years, when his increased wealth needed investment; much of the finest land which he surveyed passed into his hands, and was later owned by members of the Washington family. He held his office of colonial surveyor for three years, when he resigned to accept more important trusts.



Fort Crailo—The Van Rensselaer Mansion, 1663

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1868.

BY EDWIN S. TODD, PH. D.

IN his "Twenty Years of Congress," James G. Blaine characterizes the election of 1868 as the most unaccountable in our political annals, and especially so when one considers the time of the election, and the record and achievements of the chief candidates. A careful study of the newspapers and magazines of the period confirms this assertion.

The Civil War is generally supposed to have ended at Appomattox, but the four succeeding years of Johnson's administration were scarcely less stormy and agitated than the years of secession and conflict. Affairs during the period were in a chaotic condition. The old things had passed away. The old Union, as Von Holst says, "was dead and buried, and on its burial mound was raised a new and infinitely better structure." But most men of the period did not realize this fact, for many of them professed to believe that the old was still living, while others still sat by the tomb and bewailed its death. New forces were appearing, which were destined to bring about new discussions, and new divisions along party lines; but just then, men's minds were chiefly concerned with the questions growing out of the Civil war. In the early part of the period of reconstruction, the conservatives had held the chief place in party and federal councils, but as the election of 1868 drew near, the radicals were in the lead. Reconstruction questions still absorbed Congress, attended by party and sectional quarrels, and by fierce strife, with mistakes on both sides, leading to

long and bitter mutual hatred and distrust. The foolish quarrel with the president had begun and was at its height in the early days of 1868, leading to the impeachment trial which still occupied the attention of Congress and the country when the Republican National Convention was called. These stirring events naturally brought both parties to the contest with "aroused feeling and earnest purpose" to win the electoral battle. The elections of 1867 showed unlooked for Democratic strength in the North, and the two political parties approached the presidential election year with nearly equal forces. Under these circumstances, each party looked for a candidate who could be reasonably sure of winning the race. The merits of the candidate mattered not, everything depended on his "availability." The president, although he does not seem to have seen it, could not fulfill the requirements for "availability." His administration had been in the interests of neither party; his reconstruction policy had alienated him from the Republicans, and his intemperate harangues "swingin' round the circle" had done him harm in the country at large.

The attitude of the parties toward Grant before the autumn of 1867 was much like the attitude of Dewey toward the parties in 1900. Either party after 1865 would have taken him as its candidate. It may be of interest here to refer to an article appearing in the *New York World* in April, 1865, in view of its attitude toward Grant during the campaign of 1868. In this article, the *World* can scarcely find words sufficient to eulogize Grant as the greatest military commander of the age, and worthy of the highest honors the country could bestow. Grant had been a Democrat before the war; his last vote had been for a radical pro-slavery candidate for Congress. He did not desire the nomination, and, indeed, felt himself unfitted for a political career. In a letter to John Sherman, dated Aug. 3, 1867, General Sherman says: "Grant told me he would not accept a nomination for president; if he departs from this, his natural con-

clusion, it will be by side influence, and because no good candidate has thus far been brought forward. I don't think he has clearly defined political opinions." Grant seems to have held aloof from either party until the estrangement between the president and himself, growing out of the Stanton quarrel, when he showed himself in sympathy with the Republicans, but without any idea of becoming their leader. The movement to Grant began in the summer of 1867. In reply to the letter quoted above, John Sherman wrote on Aug. 9: "It is now becoming extremely important to know precisely what Grant wants in connection with the presidency. He can have it if he wants it. Popular opinion is all in his favor. * * * My conviction is clear that Grant ought not to change his present position. * * * Our politics for years will be a maelstrom destroying reputations with rapidity. If Grant declines, Chase is the safest candidate." The further correspondence between the two Shermans shows that Grant was still indifferent up to the time of the fall elections. John Sherman was not the only one who considered Chase a safer candidate than Grant. After the death of Lincoln, Chase was the chief in the Republican party, and his champion was the New York Tribune. Greeley considered him by all odds the best and safest leader in the party, and that whatever of good had been accomplished since the war, had been due "to his arduous services and original genius." From the evidence at hand, it seems that Chase was looked upon as the strongest candidate until the October elections of 1867.

The Ohio (October) election was a surprise. It was an emphatic verdict against immediate suffrage for the negro, and, in a way, a repudiation of Chase. Said the New York Herald of Oct. 16: "Like a dazzling castle in the clouds, the gorgeous, imposing presidential structure of Chase has melted away and vanished." The Herald, on the same day, named Grant as "now the only available candidate." The New York elections proved another disaster to the Chase

faction. The chief exponent of Republicanism, however, (Greeley) would not consider these defeats as impairing Chase's "availability." On Oct. 15, Greeley writes: "We have been looking over a string of paragraphs from sundry journals, insisting that the results of the recent elections insure the nomination of Grant. We still think Chase the ablest and best qualified man for the place." In a letter of Nov. 1, John Sherman says that he is of the same opinion concerning Chase, but that Grant is sure of the nomination. From the October elections then the Grant boom was on.

Before the time of the October elections, the Democrats were at sea as to an "available" candidate. Pendleton, Seymour, and McClellan had been mentioned, but after the Ohio election, Pendleton seemed to have the lead, especially when in November, Seymour positively refused to become a candidate. In November, Greeley felt called upon to offer the Democrats some advice as to their choice, and urged them to choose Pendleton. During 1867 and the early part of 1868, in all the discussions concerning the coming campaign, there was very little said of measures or principles; the whole discussion turned on the man who could win. During the closing months of 1867, the Tribune again and again thundered against the popular cry of "men not measures"; but there was no turning the tide of popular feeling away from Grant, although he was altogether silent concerning all questions put to him by friend or foe. The New York Times of Nov. 12, in a humorous way calls upon Grant to say something—"something his enemies can pitch into. Unless he does this, political business cannot begin." Since Grant did not speak for himself, his friends and enemies spoke for him. Some contended that he was a conservative; others that he was a radical. Still others attempted to prove him anything and everything that might catch particular votes desired by this or that faction.

Various circumstances united to make Grant the natural and inevitable choice of the Republicans. First was his mil-

itary success. Then the Johnson-Grant controversy had turned sympathy to him; and finally he was no politician. The people, therefore, reposed confidence in his judgment in the choice of men and in his leadership in civil affairs. After the November elections, the Grant wave grew in proportions. The first great impetus was given in New York on Dec. 4. At a great meeting at Cooper Union on this date, he was unanimously endorsed as the "man for the place." Early in January, 1868, the political pot began to boil in earnest. The Ohio Democratic state convention in session on Jan. 8, placed the name of Pendleton before the people as Ohio's choice for the (Democratic) nomination. Within a few days, West Virginia and Indiana placed themselves in line with Ohio. Pendleton was the champion of a growing idea in the West. Blaine calls it "the Ohio idea," and charges that state with being the hot bed of wild currency theories. The greenback heresy was of rapid growth and widespread. "The same currency for the bond-holder and the plow-holder" was an alluring cry to the Buckeye and Hoosier farmers. There was a small party opposed to both Grant and Pendleton. This faction believed that President Johnson had been and was now unfairly treated by Congress. These adherents of the president met in a mass meeting on Jan. 30, and nominated Andrew Johnson for the presidency.

Political events and currents of public opinion here and there prove that principles and measures would not down in this contest of "available" candidates. The Herald of Jan. 5 probably struck the keynote of the campaign when it declared that the negro as an element in our social life "is of vital and paramount importance, and is the question of the times; and that upon this, the presidential election must turn." The majority of the congressmen, however, as shown by their attitude in the impeachment program, did not or would not see the bearings of this great question and its inevitable solution for good or evil, through the election

of 1868. The Republican politicians were rather anxious, however, to win those who believed in "measures" to believe in Grant also, as a statesman able to carry out those "measures." Grant's military record was still mentioned, but his friends anxiously sought to show that he had displayed the elements of sound statesmanship needed in these stirring times.

During the first three months of 1868, the Democrats were as far away as ever from any united opinion as to a suitable candidate. On March 14, the Herald put forward a new man—Admiral Farragut. On the same day, so far as we can discover, the first move was made by the Democrats for the nomination of Chase. The Tribune immediately took issue with this proposition and ridiculed the idea of such a nomination. Meanwhile, the radicals in Congress were striving with might and main to humiliate the president; and the trial was still in progress when Chicago was making final preparations for the meeting of the Republican convention on May 20.

The convention assembled at a critical period in the party history. Only a few days before the first session, the first vote in the Impeachment Trial had been taken. The vote was on the famous eleventh article of impeachment, the chief one in the charges against the president, and the one on which all the rest stood or fell. The vote resulted in an acquittal of the president; and, while it did not end the trial, practically decided the whole question. The acquittal was secured by the action of a few conservative Republicans. Chase also was accused of favoring the president during the trial. The larger number of delegates to the convention had looked forward to and devoutly hoped for the removal of the president. If this had been done, Ben Wade, president pro tem. of the Senate, would have become acting president, and in this case, the work of the convention might have had a different result. It was a disappointed and angry lot of men, therefore, who came to Chicago on May 20.

Many were ready for fight and for vengeance against those who were responsible for the outcome of the trial. On the day the convention assembled, a rumor spread over the country that Grant had, after all, refused to run, but the rumors proved to be without foundation. Some of the newspapers attributed the rumors to the Chase faction, for a few of them feared or pretended to fear that at the last moment there would be a secret movement for Chase. The selection of Grant, however, was a foregone conclusion, and so the convention excited little interest on this score. The country and the great majority of delegates were enthusiastic for him. This enthusiasm rested largely on his military career, and not on his statesmanship. The popular feeling of gratitude to him as the country's greatest soldier made the people believe him capable also of settling any problem of state. Efforts were now made, therefore, to show that his popularity did not rest on his military career. Even Blaine says: "The enthusiasm for him rested upon a broader ground than that he was a war chief; it rested upon broader ground than mere popular gratitude. By his position during the conflict between Congress and the president, Grant had borne himself with discretion, dignity, and tact. The people, therefore, felt that he was peculiarly fitted to lead in restoring peace." Whether or not Grant's claim to party leadership rested on statesmanship or mere popularity as a war chief, nevertheless he had no opposition whatsoever from any source in the convention. All eyes were turned toward Chicago for another and weightier reason. As we have said, the impeachment proceedings resulted in the discomfiture of the radical Republicans. This fact lent keen interest to the proceedings of the convention. It seemed as if the meeting must be a stormy one, and that it might end in divided councils. The anger of the majority was kindled against Fessenden, Turnbull, and Evarts in especial, as being influential in defeating the party's interests in the trial.

General Logan and others were especially energetic in their demands that these men be read out of the party.

The convention met on May 20. Among the delegates were some of the best men of the party, such as Hawley, Hale, Chandler, Colonel McClure, Loring, Sickles, Depew, Hiscock, Bingham, Logan, and Carl Schurz. The opening speech was made by Governor Ward, of New Jersey, chairman of the National Committee. Carl Schurz was made temporary chairman. His speech exulted in the great achievements of the party, and proclaimed its purpose to finish and perfect the work of reconstruction on the broad basis of equal rights. General Hawley was made permanent chairman. As he took the chair, a delegation from a mass meeting of Union soldiers in session at Chicago at the same time, entered the hall headed by General Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin, and presented the following resolution: "Grant our choice." Grant's name was then presented by Lane, of Indiana, and the nomination made unanimous.

One of the queer incidents attending the nomination was the change in the attitude of the radicals. A year before, the extremists had been opposed to Grant, and only the more moderate and liberal leaders favored him. When Grant made his report to the president on the fitness of the South for reconstruction, he was ridiculed even by Sumner, who called his report "a white-washing argument." Grant's position during the Johnson-Stanton controversy, however made the first strong impression on the party; and his later action with regard to the New Orleans troubles and the complications of Sheridan and Sickles strengthened his party position. Now even the "Chase champion" seemed heartily in favor of the "man of destiny." Thus radicals and conservatives claimed him as their own.

As we have stated, Wade stood very near the presidency during the weeks preceding the convention; if the votes of only two men in the trial had been changed, he would have been president. In that case, he would have been at least

the only logical candidate for the second place on the ticket. Now he had opponents in Colfax, Hamlin, Wilson, Curtin, and Fenton of New York. Fenton was then one of the leaders of the New York Republicans. Colfax was now at the height of a successful career; he was in his third term as Speaker of the House. Wilson was still one of the Massachusetts leaders. On the fifth ballot, Colfax was nominated.

The *World* (Democratic) remarks of the nomination that the Republicans had thereby proclaimed to the world that they had no hope of recovering strength in the East. The editorial also points out, with apparent delight, that New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had been practically snubbed in the convention, and that the party would hear from these states in a decisive manner in November. The *Tribune* changes front and says: "Grant is a man of the people. We predict that both his electoral and popular majority will exceed those of Lincoln over McClellan." The most important proceeding of the convention was the formation of the platform. The first plank was a generalization, with which one might take issue today. "We congratulate the country on the assured success of the Reconstruction Policy of Congress." From the standpoint of the radicals, the policy was surely a success. The next generalization concerned the impeachment trial. A plank was inserted denouncing Johnson in a wild and unfair manner. This subject, above all, should have had no place in the platform, since a constitutional and legal tribunal in a fair and legal way had exonerated the president from the charges preferred against him. The plank served no other purpose than to satisfy the spleen of the disappointed radicals. The third plank concerning the national debt has the proper ring to it, although it might have been more explicit. Repudiation was denounced and a demand made that the debt be paid not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. The fair interpretation of this last clause meant the payment of the debt

in coin. Labor and taxation was the subject of the next plank. "It is due to the labor of this nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as possible."

The seventh plank was in the nature of a confession of weakness and error in the past. "The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy, and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed by Andrew Johnson call loudly for reform." The framers forgot that if this charge were true, the party in power was as guilty as the president. The ninth plank was a bid to the foreigners in the land, especially the Germans and Irish. Protection was promised to "the naturalized the same as if he was a native." Foreign immigration was also to be fostered.

The most important and the weakest plank in the whole platform was that concerning the negro. Here the unreasoning influence of the radicals was again shown. "The guaranty of Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the South is demanded by every consideration of public safety; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of these states." How had the party fallen from the lofty principles of right and justice, maintained so well in 1856 and 1860! Not conservatism and high statesmanship here, but the savor of the demagogue and policy man. But from a party standpoint, a great deal was at stake. The radical leaders knew that negro suffrage would meet and already had met intense opposition in many of the Northern states, and especially in the doubtful ones of Indiana and California. The plank meant simply this; that the loyal states could do as they pleased about the matter, while the lately rebellious states should be coerced by Congress into having negro suffrage willy nilly. Such a proposition was a mere play for votes, and its enforcement an impossibility. Many of the party leaders knew this, but there were few who were bold enough to confess that it was a colossal error. Blaine says: "The

plank is an evasion of duty, and unworthy of the Republican party. It is a mere stroke of expediency to escape the prejudices which negro suffrage would encounter in a majority of the loyal states. Every intelligent man knew it could not be enforced." It must be said in fairness, however, that during the campaign many of the high-minded statesmen of the party openly repudiated this portion of the platform.

Before the assembling of the Democratic convention, the nominees of the Republican party seemed to cast the platform in the shade. The battle immediately centered about Grant himself. In his letter of acceptance on May 29, Grant, in his usual brief manner, endorsed the convention and the platform. He promised, if elected, to do all in his power to give peace, quiet, and protection everywhere, and to respect the will of the whole people. He ended his letter with the sentence now carved on his tomb, "Let us have peace." Colfax wrote a much longer letter of acceptance. He sought a reasonable argument to account for the recent reconstruction acts. He praised the foreign population and what they did in time of war, and ended by a glorification of the past of the party.

Up to the eve of July 4, the day for the assembling of the Democratic convention, there was still utter confusion of ideas as to the appropriate candidate for the chief place on the ticket. The Democrats were indeed in more of a quandary than the Republicans had been. They wanted a man who could please the South, and at the same time, carry enough Northern States to ensure his election. The West was in favor of Pendleton. The movement for him had been well planned and persistently pressed. The Greenback heresy was growing. The cry, "The same currency for the bond-holder and the plow-holder" was a very popular shibboleth. The Republicans tried to stem the tide by replying that their idea of currency was one "for the plow-holder and the bond-holder." Since Seymour had de-

clined to allow his name to be considered, Pendleton was in the lead; but the Eastern Democrats were opposed to the champion of this financial heresy.

A prominent figure now loomed up in the East—Salmon P. Chase. He had sought the Republican nomination in 1864, and for a time, looked forward to the nomination in 1868. After the Grant boom had assumed such proportions that his nomination was assured, some of the Democrats pretended to be alarmed at the threatened military supremacy under such a man as Grant: and they, therefore, sought some one who should champion the supremacy of the civil power. So Chase was proposed as the Democratic nominee. In the beginning of his public career, Chase had leaned toward the Democracy. His connection with the impeachment trial had made the Republicans hostile to him; then because of his criticisms, he was looked upon as an opponent of the military government of the Southern States. Thus in many ways he was not in harmony with the Republicans; but there were difficulties in the way of his nomination by the Democrats. First, he was an Ohio man, and Ohio had practically repudiated him when she supported Pendleton; second, and more serious fact, he believed in universal suffrage. Blaine asserts that there was a deep-laid scheme of the New York Regency to nominate him, although the New Yorkers were also accused of a deeper scheme to bring out Seymour at the right moment and secure the prize for him.

Other prominent candidates were Hancock and Admiral Farragut (the pet of the New York Herald). The Southern press declared that the South would be satisfied with Hancock, while the Eastern press thought the East would be happy with Chase, Hendricks, Seymour, or McClellan—any one, in fact, except Pendleton. Besides these men, nearly every state had its special favorite, for example, California named Judge Field, and Missouri, Frank P. Blair. The antagonisms between the different elements in

the party were so great that no one could anticipate the work of the convention. The attention of the whole country was, therefore, turned to New York on July 4, the day the national convention met in the old Tammany Hall, on Fourteenth Street. The country was curious, too, to know what the convention would say about the national debt, paper currency, and negro suffrage. The Southern delegates were admitted into the convention just as though all the states were fully reconstructed. Among these delegates were General Forest, Wade Hampton, John B. Gordon, Garland, of Arkansas, Zebulun Vance, of North Carolina, and Montgomery Blair. Among the prominent Northern delegates were Seymour, Tilden, Thurman, Vallandigham, Geo. Pugh, Carlisle, and D. W. Voorhees, of Indiana. The address of welcome was made by August Belmont. His speech was largely made up of lurid pyrotechnic displays. He charged the Republican party with bringing on the country "all the dreadful events of the past four years." He grew eloquent on the tyranny exercised toward the Southern States. He attributed the non-consummation of a complete reunion solely to the Democratic defeat of 1864. (As a seer and prophet, however, Belmont was rather unreliable, for in 1864, he had prophesied that Lincoln's re-election would bring "the utter disintegration of our whole political system amid bloodshed and anarchy.") Henry W. Palmer was made temporary chairman and Horatio Seymour, permanent chairman. In his opening speech, Seymour arraigned the party in power for inflicting upon the country a depreciating currency and enforcing a military despotism. One of the weak parts of his address was his opposition to Grant as a military chieftan seeking to put the country under military rule.

The Republicans had made their platform after the nomination had been made; but this convention proceeded immediately to the making of the party platform. As the radical Republicans had, in large measure, controlled the

construction of their platform, so the more violent elements in the party obtained the mastery in the construction of the Democratic platform. The preamble asserted that the party stood upon the limitations of the powers of government; and that "it recognizes the question of slavery and secession as settled for all time." The first plank showed the influence of the radicals; it was a demand for the immediate restoration "of all the lately rebellious states to their rights in the Union under the constitution, and of civil government for the whole American people." On its face this meant a return to the status of ante-bellum days, a condition which the war had rendered impossible; it meant that Congress had no constitutional power to place any conditions whatsoever on the return of the Southern States. This demand was followed by a similar one for universal amnesty *without condition* for all political offenders. The third plank concerned the payment of the public debts, and was slightly ambiguous, possibly intentionally so. It was a demand that the debt be paid as rapidly as possible, "and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state *upon their face*, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought to be paid in the *lawful money* of the United States." Neither party, then, came out squarely on this question. The Republicans had said, "Pay the debt according to the *spirit* of the law," and the Democrats said, "Pay in the *lawful* money of the country." The fifth plank was a sort of sop to the followers of the "Ohio idea"—"One currency for the government and the people, the laborer, the officeholder, the producer, and the bond-holder." The sixth plank reinforced the Republican demand for economy in the administration of the government; it further demanded the abolition of the Freedman's Bureau, a tariff for revenue only, and such internal revenue laws "as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufacturers." The seventh plank joined the Republicans in a demand for reform of abuses and corruption in government.

Both parties were anxious to possess the foreign vote, and so the eighth plank was similar to the one in the Republican platform guaranteeing protection to the naturalized citizen. The platform then arraigned the Radical Republicans in scathing terms for their recent career in Congress. The arraignment, however, soon degenerated into a mere harangue. "The reconstruction acts were usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void; Star Chamber inquisitions have been set up; the American capital has been turned into a Bastille, etc." Much of this, it is said, was due to the influence of Wade Hampton. Other provisions of the platform concerned the distribution of the public lands among the workers, and a vote of gratitude to Johnson "for his courageous stand in recent affairs." The platform closed with the incorporation of a special vote of thanks to Chase for his conduct during the trial, and a call upon all the conservative elements in the country to join the party on this platform.

The convention then proceeded to nominations. More than a dozen men were placed before the convention for the chief place. The first ballot was divided among eleven men with George H. Pendleton in the lead. The following five ballots were without results. After the sixth ballot, the convention adjourned until the next day. During the recess, the name of Chase was again prominently mentioned, and it looked as if he would be the nominee. On the next day, however, when the balloting began, Pendleton was once more in the lead, and no vote for Chase. On the twelfth ballot, California gave one-half a vote to Chase. At the mention of his name, there was great confusion and a tremendous demonstration in the galleries, but Chase never received more than four votes on any succeeding ballot. The convention now played with the name of Hancock for a time. To offset this and to outwit Pendleton, the New York Regency gave its vote to Hendricks, of Indiana. This was fatal to Pendleton. The names of Hendricks and Hancock were used only to hide the maneuvers for the Regency's ac-

tual candidates. Chase was again talked of and seemed sure of the nomination. Colonel McClure states that he has every reason to believe that Chase would have been nominated after the twenty-first ballot had it not been for the carefully laid plan of Tilden to prevent the success of the convention.

The Pendleton followers were evidently playing a deep game also; they were resolved that the New York plans (for Chase) should not succeed. Pendleton, therefore, withdrew his name and his followers proposed to the New York delegates to place Seymour himself in nomination. The New Yorkers reluctantly consented and on the twenty-second ballot, Ohio changed her vote to Seymour, and his unanimous nomination followed. Seymour was accused of being party to a deep-laid scheme to do this all along. It was generally supposed that he left the chair on the twenty-second ballot because some votes had been cast for him, but he really left it to aid Chase, and then came the Tilden strategy. Seymour no more thought of being nominated than Garfield, in 1880. "Tilden," says McClure, "was a master leader, subtle and sagacious; and he strongly organized the plan to nominate Seymour. It was well known to Chase and his friends that Tilden crucified him in the Democratic Convention of 1868, and this act of Tilden had an impressive sequel eight years later when Chase's friends decided the battle between Hayes and Tilden. Gov. Seymour was at heart pure; he had a great and extensive knowledge; he was sound on the financial questions raised at the time; and was one of the best men the Democracy had."

The contest for vice-president was soon ended in the selection of Frank P. Blair. Blair had been one of the most radical and aggressive Republicans in 1856, and later a Republican congressman from St. Louis. Seymour was evidently fettered by Blair and his attitude to the platform. Seymour's letter of acceptance endorsed the platform, even the financial plank, and attacked the management of public affairs by Congress. Blair's letter showed the radical spirit;

he declared the reconstruction acts null and void; that the army should be compelled to undo its work of usurpation in the South; that the Carpet Bag Government should be dispensed with, and that the whites should be allowed to reorganize their own governments.

Judging from the newspaper accounts of the day, one must be of the opinion that, in great measure, the campaign was conducted on the low plane of vulgar personalities and villification. At this late date, the younger generation can scarcely understand how men could stoop to such invective as many of the campaign orators gave voice to under the name of statesmanship. The New York World, in especial, descended to the lowest depths of villification. For days and weeks preceding the Democratic Convention, the chief editorials were on the subject of the initials in Grant's name. Then it accused Grant of being a habitual drunkard, and quoted Wendell Phillips as its authority. A great part of its summer issues were used in seeking to prove that Grant was no general; that he never could, and never did, of himself, win a battle. The World had evidently forgotten its declaration of April, 1865, mentioned above. From this alleged fact, it sought to demonstrate that Grant could not manage the government. Nevertheless, one of the World's chief fears was that Grant would be a great military despot. Later on in the campaign, Grant was made the author of every calamity of the war.

The Democrats seemed to start out with more vigor than the Republicans; and the Republicans seemed to be in trepidation and fear. The most eminent speakers on both sides took the stump. In the beginning it looked as if the national debt would be the chief subject for discussion throughout the campaign.

The chief Democratic orators in the West dwelt mostly on the financial questions of the day. Briefly stated, the essential facts of the money question were these: The national debt at the time was approximately \$2,600,000,000; a large part of this was in five-twenties. The *interest*, the

law stated explicitly, should be paid in coin. The law did not state, however, whether the principal should be paid in coin or paper. Pendleton elaborated the view that the loans were made in paper, and, therefore, should be paid in paper. "We must not legislate," he said, "in favor of the man who owns the bonds and pays no taxes on them." Under the leadership of Pendleton, the Greenback sentiment took form; but it must be remembered that the sentiment was not confined to the Democrats. There were many Republicans in the central West who favored it. It was McClure, I believe, who said that the Republicans, in all probability, could never have lined up squarely in support of the national credit with any other man than Grant. It was his influence alone that held many in line. The Eastern Democrats fought shy of the Greenback question; in fact, they utterly ignored the bond question and took up the issue which remained uppermost during the latter part of the campaign; namely, the condition of that portion of the country lately in insurrection. Neither did the Republicans seem united or in earnest on the money question or the bond issues; while the Democrats seemed to lack comprehension of what subject would be most effective with the people, and indulged for the most part in oratorical flounders and vulgar abuse.

Many of the leaders of the late Confederacy sought to delude themselves and others with the contention that they only had undertaken to uphold the constitution, and that, therefore, the Confederacy really had been the Union; and not a few Democratic leaders in the North adopted this view. In the South the canvass took a singular turn. The whites allied themselves with the Democrats in trying to win the negro vote. They argued that they were the best friends the negroes ever had, and, after all, the best they ever could have. It is true that a few, both Democrats and Republicans, sought to place the contest on a higher and broader plane than mere personalities and shallow sophistries, and to infuse something like statesmanship and man-

liness into their arguments, but they were few. Among the Republicans was John Sherman, and among the Democrats, Seymour, neither of whom ever stooped to mere vaunt or rant. Many of the Republicans indulged in talk about the national honor and credit, but their arguments were, for the most part, superficial.

The main thesis of the Democratic party was that the present governments of the Southern States were wholly illegal, and should be set aside. That the negroes of the South were voters was assumed on both sides. During the whole campaign, the strife of war again resounded. The questions, of course, were those growing out of the war, and every effort was made to point out what each candidate had been or had done during the war. The Republicans sought to show that, during the war, Grant had not only shown military ability, but the strongest statesmanship, and they charged their enemies with copper-headism, opposition to the war, and want of patriotism. The Democrats, on the other hand, declared that Seymour had been loyal during the war, and quoted one of his war messages, which read; "We must accept the condition of affairs as they stand. Our armies in the field must be supported. All constitutional demands of the general government must be promptly responded to. Under no circumstances can a division of the Union be conceded." Another, and rather amusing argument of the Democrats was in the nature of an excuse for secession, in that the South seceded "because it loved the constitution more than the Union." Blair's speeches were especially violent. On Oct. 28, he said: "The radical fanatics devised infinitely worse treatment for the South than the British oppressors of Ireland have ever invented. We have a military despotism; disenfranchisement is of the nature of a Bill of Attainder. Grant has a policy and that is to become a military dictator." Such was the tenor of too many speeches on both sides. To add to the excitement of the campaign, reports of rioting in the South

became frequent and alarming, but we have not the space to write of these events in detail.

The first States to give a practical decision on the questions at issue were the September States of Vermont and Maine, which gave increased Republican majorities. The October states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana also went Republican. The outlook for the Democrats was rather dark; and during October there were rumors of the retirement of both candidates. The World, indeed, openly demanded the retirement of Blair, although it had committed the same faults as Blair, in being wildly radical. To add to the discomfiture of the Democrats, on Oct. 19, a large number of "War Democrats" called a meeting for the purpose of proclaiming their preference for Grant; but for that matter, the radical legislation of the Republicans made some noteworthy defections from that party. So desperate had affairs become for the Democrats that Seymour himself took the field. He made a tour of the country, speaking each day from Oct. 20 until the eve of election. His speeches were conservative, and rank among the ablest popular addresses of American politics. They were entirely courteous and dignified. His leading argument was a new one in the canvass; it was an attack on the financial policy of the Republicans so far as it was embodied in the National Banking Law. His thesis was that "the system was wrong in itself, and carried out unfairly in the interests of the East." He maintained, too, that the reconstruction measures were wrong in principle and ineffective in practice; and that the introduction of Carpet-bag Senators into Congress was a grave wrong.

November 3, 1868, was the first presidential election since the war had closed, and it is important in showing the attitude of the people toward the war and toward the reconstruction policy. By election day, the campaign was at fever heat. Charges and counter charges of intended fraud were made in New York and elsewhere. Mayor Hoffman,

of New York City, issued a proclamation ordering the officers to guard the city against fraud.

Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas had not yet been fully reconstructed and hence took no part in the election. Seymour carried the states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, Louisiana and Oregon. New York gave him 10,000 majority, New Jersey 3,000 and Oregon only 164. The remainder of the states cast their electoral votes for Grant.

An analysis of the vote shows that the greatest Republican gains came from New England and the Middle States, with the exception of Massachusetts (where there was a slight decrease from the vote of 1864) and of New York, which made a change of about 17,000 votes from the vote of 1864. Although New Jersey had gone Democratic, there was a substantial Republican gain. Ohio showed a great decrease in the Republican vote; it being 14,000 less than in 1864, and 3,000 less than in 1860. Indiana also gave a slightly decreased majority. California gave Grant a majority of only 514, a decrease of 8,000 from the Republican vote of 1864. Both Philadelphia and New York City were carried by Seymour. In round numbers, the Republicans had a plurality of 491,200 in 1860; 411,400 in 1864; and 309,500 in 1868—a decrease of 101,900 from 1864, and of 181,700 from 1860. Seymour received 901,000 votes more than McClellan in 1864, and of these 901,000 votes, only 352,000 came from the states that had not voted in 1864.

The February day in which the electoral votes were counted was an exciting one in Congress. The votes of Georgia and Louisiana were contested. The question was whether Georgia had complied with the terms of the act of July, 1868, declaring that no rebellious state should be entitled to electors unless such state had adopted a constitution since March 4, 1867.

On Feb. 6, 1869, Senator Edmunds offered a concurrent resolution which stated in substance that if Georgia's vote

did not change the result, her vote should be counted. The count began on the tenth. Louisiana's vote was accepted; but General Butler objected to Georgia on the grounds, first, that the votes were not given on the day fixed by law; second, that at the date of the election, Georgia had not been admitted to representation in Congress; third, that she had not complied with the reconstruction acts; and fourth, that the electoral vote had not been fair and free. The House decided not to receive Georgia's vote. The Senate then retired to its own chamber, where a long and somewhat ungoverned discussion took place. Many propositions were made and at last the Senate voted 28 to 25 that under the special order of the two houses respecting Georgia's vote, the objections made to the count were not in order. When the two houses were together again, the Senate's vote was announced. Then ensued wild and disorderly scenes. Butler's objection was overruled, and the chairman said the vote would be received under the concurrent resolution. Butler declared that the House had sustained his objection. Then ensued a disgraceful scene on Butler's part toward the president of the Senate. As soon as the House was by itself, Butler rose to a question of privilege and offered a resolution protesting against the vice-president's action. After a fierce debate of three days, the motion was tabled and happily dropped for good.

The electoral count gave Grant 214 and Seymour 80 votes. Grant received two more electoral votes than Lincoln in 1864. "If the electorate of the South had been as in 1860," as Professor Burgess remarks, "Seymour and Blair would have triumphed; or if the Democrats had stuck to the reconstruction policy and discussed it in a fair-minded way, the Republicans would probably have lost the election, even with the most popular man in the North as their standard bearer." It was a victory, indeed, but one that was so near a defeat as to make the party take heed for the future.

THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF NEW YORK CITY
IN A HUNDRED YEARS,
1807-1907.

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS.

THE OLD CITY—THE NEW CITY.

(*Third Paper.*)*

IN January of the present year the New York Historical Society formally resolved to commemorate the Centennial of the Act of April third, 1807, appointing commissioners to lay out the New City and invited the co-operation of the Municipal authorities. The Mayor consented to order the display of the city flag from the City Hall. The passage of an appropriate resolution by the authorities would have been suitable and dignified; and the striking of a medal commemorative of this the most important event in our physical development would not have been out of place. Perhaps the Historical Society may carry out this idea. The Society made its regular monthly meeting on the eve of the anniversary an occasion for the reading of an address and illustrated it with stereopticon views which made a suitable showing of the contrast of one hundred years.

Up to the year 1807 the physical growth of the city was independent of legislation, which did not lay out in advance

*The present papers beginning with the January number of this Magazine have been essentially constructed from an address prepared for and read to the New York Historical Society on the Second of April last, entitled: Physical Development of the city of New York on the plans of the Commissioners. A Centennial Contrast, 1807-1907. By John Austin Stevens.

but simply confirmed by city ordinances the changes made by individuals. The Commissioners were then given power to lay out streets, roads, and public squares, and to shut up any not accepted by the corporation to the northward of a line commencing at the foot of Christopher street on the North river and thence running through Fitzroy road, Greenwich Lane and Art street to the Bowery road and thence by North street to Clinton's wharf on the East river. No squares or plots ever after to be opened or divided by any route; the streets to be not less than fifty wide. The corporation to have power to condemn for public use for streets or squares any land or building and to assess for the opening of the same as directed by the legislature. Further for the construction of slips and basins and the running out of wharves and piers by a most wise proviso the Act authorized the Commissioners to issue letters patent granting to the mayor, aldermen and commonalty right and title to the lands covered by water along the easterly shore of the Hudson and from low water mark running four hundred feet into the river from Bostavens Killetje or river (Minetta Creek), four miles to the north and along the westerly shore of the East river or Sound from the north side of Corlears Hook to the distance of two miles to the north. A right of pre-emption in all such grants was given to proprietors of lands adjacent.

On filing the map as ordered in the office of the Secretary of State of the clerk of the city and county of New York the Commissioners submitted their "*Remarks.*" Some of these are of interest. They preferred straight lines and straight angled streets to circle ovals or stars: (here no doubt was a reference to the plan of the city of Washington then recently laid out by Major de L'Enfant,) because straight sided and right angled houses are the most cheap to build and the most convenient to live in. They proposed first a large reservoir on an elevated place: a Grand Parade from Twenty-third to Twenty-four street and Third to Seventh avenues

for military exercises, which they greatly lamented could not be brought further south. Third, a public market large enough to supply a population which at the end of half a century would occupy an area as far as the northern boundary of the Parade at Thirty-fourth street and reach four hundred thousand souls: an expectation which was more than realized. For this market they selected the salt marsh—the four blocks from Seventh to Tenth street, and from First avenue to the East river, the Stuyvesant Meadows—three thousand feet long and eight hundred feet wide. Referring to the extent and limitations of these plans they remark, and the amusing sarcasm of the words evidently came from Morris that “some may be surprised that the whole of the Island was not laid out as a city and others that what was laid out provided space for a greater population than was collected on any spot on this side of China.” They say they were governed in this respect by the shape of the ground. They provided twelve parallel avenues running northerly and each numbered as far as the village of Harlem from east to west. The first from North now east Houston street ends at the Harlem river. The twelfth begins at One Hundred and Thirtieth street and ends at the wharf at Manhattanville, whence started the old ferry to Fort Lee. The Tenth runs as far as the Harlem river and strikes it near Kingsbridge. All end at the Harlem river. The avenues east of the First avenue are named A, B, C, D, the last being the most easterly. The irregularity in their lengths on the east and west sides of the city are of course caused by the irregular shape of the upper area of the island. Reversing the examination it is seen that all the avenues extend southward to the boundary fixed by the statutes, that is the line of present Houston street, except the Fourth avenue which stopped on the Commissioners at Fifteenth street and was lost at Union place. Union place the commissioners described as an irregular trapezin—or irregular quadrilateral, bounded westerly by the Bloomingdale

road, easterly and northerly by the Bowery road. The Broadway on their map was continued as high as the Parade, but later the course of this road was changed, not at all to continue the Broadway which did not exist for a mile below but to continue the communication between the old city and the new.

The streets ran at right angles to the avenues and were numbered or called First to One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street. First street began at the end of avenue B and ended at the Bowery road. One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street began at Bussing's Point and ended on the Hudson river. The streets are all sixty feet wide except sixteen streets which are one hundred feet wide; the blocks with spaces between them were about two hundred feet. Monuments of stone marked all the points of angles between streets and avenues. With few exceptions to-day they are things of the past. The smaller plots at the intersections of the longitudinal avenues and lateral streets were named by the commissioners in their report "children of necessity" and, odd to say, later legislation called them by this quaint name. These triangular bits in our area should have made part in the open space of our later development; as it is they are notorious for the structures which disfigure the city: the Flatiron and the Times Square building.

The Commissioner's map named Observatory Place or a square for a reservoir between Eighty-ninth and Ninety-fourth street and the Fourth and Fifth avenues. As the Croton water was not brought in to the city for half a century later this seems somewhat prophetic. They also name a Bloomingdale square bounded by Fifty-third and Fifty-seventh streets and the Eighth and Ninth avenues, also Manhattan square between the Seventh and Eighty-first streets and the Eighth and Ninth avenues. And on the east side Harlem square between One Hundred and Twenty-first and One Hundred Twenty-second streets and the First and Second avenues.

These were the salient features of the plan. The main change as has been shown is the diagonal avenue, then Bloomingdale road, now the Broadway above Fourteenth street. No one then dreamed nor did for a long time later of a diagonal extension of Broadway. The junction of that famous old street—the old Herren-Straat of the Dutch—the Broad-way of the early colonials—the Great George street of the Provincials and the Middle road as it was known for nearly half a century later. To us New Yorkers born it was the one street of the world.

The Commissioners laid it out in a straight line to Union place at Fourteenth street, but the obstinacy of an individual interfering with its passing through his farm it was deflected to its present diagonal course to the southwest corner of the Square where it joined with the old Bloomingdale Road and imposed upon it its name. Precisely as this interference compelled a departure from their rectangular plan so the influence of John Jacob Astor and William Cutting maintained the old Bloomingdale Road. These gentlemen towards the close of 1807 bought the old Eden Farm, an area of about seventy acres, which extended from the Bloomingdale road and comprised the land from Forty-eighth street to Fifty-first street as far as the river. The new Hotel Astor stands on its eastern extremity. The price paid for this entire property was twenty-five thousand dollars, a mere fraction of its present value. Immediately above this property was Strykers Bay on the Hudson, a famous road house half a century ago. It is not to be denied that this diagonal road has been a great and convenient central thoroughfare and means of reaching distant points by a shorter line. It has always been the pride and glory of the "bourgeois" class as the Bowery has been of the irrepressible "gamin." An old map of William Bridges the city surveyor eliminates the old Bloomingdale road beyond Twenty-third street.

On the plan an open space styled the Parade extends

from the Seventh to the Third avenues and from Twenty-third to Thirty-second street. This is traversed northeasterly by the old Post road. All the avenues from the Seventh to the Third again begin at the upper end of the Parade and extent northerly in strictly parallel lines.

It is now more than a quarter of a century since Henri Taine, keen observer and profound analysis of the outward as well as the inward nature of things described with marvellous power and grace the London of his day. He paints the picture of the "world's capital," a proud title which New York now challenges. From the view point of London bridge and the Strand at midnight he said "probably there "is no sight in the world so grand and so horrible: to the "right, to the left, above, below, loom up through the catafalque of light and darkness a gigantic uneven row of "warehouses and blackened buildings. Such a mass of "stone and brick, so many varieties of style, such a pile of "labour and invention crowded together, perpetually built "up and over built again without either truce or respite." So far Taine and such has been the experience of Old New York in the century now elapsed—construction, destruction and reconstruction; and such is already the experience of the New City. One word more of Taine on the aspect of modern life. "The astonishing growth of the human edifice "is so great that the enclosures now take in land once open "and free. In the marvellous multiplication of competitors "the crowd has crammed the enclosure: the individual staggers under the weight of the mass and is walled within an "established order." Such he found London, such Paris in a lesser degree and such in an equal if not greater degree is New York to-day, for the inventions in construction of the last twenty-five years have made possible more enormous masses of brick and stone and a greater mass to inhabit them. Whether to our advantage or detriment New York has set the example of monumental construction, regard-

less of the limitation of building to the width of streets, to light and to air, which old Rome established and Paris under the wise provisions of the great French minister Sartines ordered in the eighteenth century.

Fascinating as is this view of the "modern aspect" which saddened the heart of the French observer, it must be abandoned for that of the physical features of the present picture. A birds-eye view must first be taken of New York as it was when our wise legislature ordered the study of a plan for the construction of a metropolitan city—suitable habitation for the great population which they foresaw dimly that it would some day contain; yet without a remote conception of its extension on Manhattan Island even. He would have been thought a fit subject for the "cap and bells," who would have suggested that its area alone would now or ever be the home of over two million people; yet there had been indications of rapid increase. From 1800 to 1803 the rate of increase was twenty-five per cent. of its sixty to seventy thousand souls; about twenty-seven thousand left the city at the time of the yellow fever epidemic. Far less could one have conceived that by the wonderful changes in human transportation the city would be to-day accessible to a population of over seven million of souls living within an area with a radius of thirty miles from the City hall. It is well to bear in mind that the change in the physical features of the city, in the eight years intervening between the Mangin Map of 1803 and the later map of 1811, must have been slight; first because of the drawbacks caused by the epidemic of 1805 and secondly to the more serious blight to industry of every kind in commerce trade and manufacture which followed close upon the Embargo Act which Gallatin then the Secretary of the Treasury aptly termed "war in disguise."*

*"War in disguise" was the title of a pamphlet published in England to outline the action of the British government in response to the American Embargo Act. It was at the time ascribed to Sir William Scott, later Lord Stowell, but was really written by Mr. James Stephen.

An Act of Federal Legislation, which, though perhaps the only means of retaliation against domineering England, utterly paralyzed the commerce of New York and all peaceful occupations until the Treaty of Ghent of Christmas day 1814, put an end to the war and opened a new era of prosperity. There is contemporaneous testimony to this distress in the memoirs of the Rev. Dr. John Pierce published last year by the Massachusetts Historical Society. He arrived in New York on the 10th of December, 1812. Coming down the river from Albany in the steamboat, *Paragon* (one hundred and thirty miles in sixteen hours) he says, "We walked around the Battery bounded by North and by East river. It was truly melancholy to see the immense quantities of shipping lie useless at the wharves. They appeared to me not unlike to vast forests through which the fire had passed and left naked trunks of trees, the sad memorials of what they once were." During all this long period our one mercantile body, the Chamber of Commerce, suspended its sessions. It was reorganized by John Pintard in 1817.

Of the three Commissioners who drafted the plan of the New City, Gouverneur Morris, the first named, was familiar with the Old World's capitals—Paris, London, Berlin—from a long residence abroad. Simeon Dewitt the State Engineer was an expert in his profession, and John Ruthersford, a gentleman of birth and of education. Here was a combination of races, English, Dutch and Scotch, fairly representative of the motley complexion of New York Society.

First of the appearance of the island to the incoming stranger from a foreign land. The time then was when New York bay was something more than a great harbor; when it was held to rival that of Naples in its natural beauty. The entrance of the Narrows passed the hills of Staten Island and Long Island in verdure clad once delighted the eye. The disfiguring hand of time has stripped them of

their green mantles; their native charm. Factories and dwellings often sordid as is common in suburban districts blotch the surface even when they do not obliterate every rural beauty. Far greater the change in the scene when the island of Manhattan is approached by either of the great waterways. It is not much more than a quarter of a century ago that the entrance to it by the Sound and East river in one of the great steamboats was a delightful experience, in fact as it is to-day in memory for as the poet says "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever." At daylight as Sands-Point was passed the deck of the river palace was thronged with observers—the green lawns of Morrisania on the north bank of the Sound, the quaint Dutch cottages and gardens on the Long Island shore first attracted the eye. Soon, Hellgate safely passed—and many a vessel has come to grief there—began a succession of the beautiful villas which Galatin noticed as he came into the city by a Newport sloop in 1783, and which Mitchill notes with admiration in 1807. At the foot of 86th street, (where the Hellgate ferry was operated by a flat boat with paddle wheels worked by a weary horse on a tread mill), on the Manhattan side is the high bluff crowned with the Gracie house and its century old balsam trees; on the long-island side on the crest of a long hill, Mount Bonaparte, the old Hallet house, but before 1800 the country residence of Colonel Ebenezer Stevens of the continental artillery; the land was terraced to a wall at the river road and planted with a fine row of Norway pines; which like those on the opposite side of the river were a welcome landmark to the navigator; and in the landscape a round tower or block house commanding Fort Stevens—a water battery which was a part of the line of New York defences in the war of 1812. From this point on the New York side to Bellevue at the foot of Twenty-seventh street "the rocks (says Mitchill) oppose to the tides an impassable barrier." Hence the high bluffs were the favorite country seats of the

gentry who owned the entire front without interloping interference. Blackwell's Island was a pretty farm before the public buildings were put up and its eastern point disfigured by an enormous sign advertising the merits of "Rising Sun Stove polish" Ravenswood, the river bank on the Long Island side opposite the island, was in high cultivation. Here Colonel George Gibbs had his country seat of Sunswick in the house built by John Delafield, pioneer of the name in this city, later the Convent of the Sacred Heart—it was famous in the time of the Colonel for its flower and fruit garden and with lawns and walk in easy descent to the stone wall on the river bank. These are but instances of a great number of residences and only singled out because of their prominence in the landscape. To-day the Manhattan front of this beautiful region is simply shocking to behold—not a single spot of green on the bluffs or banks, which show a rugged earthy or rocky face to the water's edge. At their base huge unsightly warehouses and factories, the towers of which poison the air with bad odors and obscure the sky with the fumes of their smoke stacks, while their whistles make the dawn hideous with their sharp summons to the morning toil—not even London can equal this spectacle. Yet it seems a fit bordering to the New Jerusalem (the congested site of the east side population), which has become as famous a name as that of the old Ghetto of Rome or the Juden-gasse of Frankfort. The point of the Hook (Corlears) passed there formerly opened a panorama of wonderful interest. On the Long Island side the beautiful and commanding heights of Brooklyn dropping in a sharp decline to the water base and crowned with a building here and there, while opposite a great forest of masts extended along the river front to the very end of the island. Every dock, every wharf lined on its sides and at its end with vessels of every size, type and variety, from the great London and French packet ships tall and square rigged, to the famous clippers which bore no rivalry in the

India or China seas—beautiful specimens of the ship-building craft for which New York was famous—with their polished hard wood panels and brass mountings and trimmings complete to the long gun they carried for protection against the pirates of the Orient—Chinese Lascars and Malays—dainty vessels furnished with the luxury of yachts and quite as speedy. The Sea-Queen was a famous example. Mingled with these were endless craft, large and small, from the barks, which traded to Europe, the West Indies and the Spanish main, or doubling Cape Horn carried our flag and our commerce to the west coast of South America, Chili and Peru to the sloops and schooners which carried the coastwise trade. For these, the days of my youth, were the halcyon days of our commerce when the United States disputed the carrying trade of the world in sharp and not unequal rivalry with Great Britain, and the Stars and Stripes bore the fame of the Great Republic over every sea and to every land. Shall they return? Now that we have spanned our land from east to west and from north to south with our railways, the time may be near when we shall reach out with our strong arms over the oceans and lay hands again on what was once our own—our pride and our glory. For half a century the number of vessels at our wharves was so large that it was not unusual for days to pass before the Harbor Master could assign wharfage room to a new comer. To-day South street once a familiar name in every commercial port of the world is deserted and neglected. Where the great merchant princes had their counting houses and canvassed the world with their enterprise to-day there is but a succession of petty shops, boarding houses for longshoremen and ill kept saloons: for here is a limit of the side side. Opposite South street on the Long Island shore is a repetition of the upper East river as it has been described; not a trace of verdure on the heights, but a steep stairway down to the Wall street ferry—on the heights themselves a city, where there was a century ago little more than a country town. On

river bank an unbroken line of factories, refineries, and enormous warehouses for the storage of heavy goods and the docks a heterogeneous mass of every variety of merchandise. All this with the same hideous accompaniment of offensive sounds and odors in jealous rivalry with its opposite neighbor.

is not intended here either to characterize or condemn the conditions; simply to describe them and to give point to the assertion that great as the city may, nay surely will be, the beauty of its water front is gone and gone forever. "The glory of it is departed." The only compensation the eye is in the East river bridges; the majesty of the great Brooklyn span (completed in 1883 and celebrated as a night pageant) and the grace of the Williamsburg bridge (completed in 1903) appeal to a sense of architectural beauty. Two other bridges are in construction to-day, the Manhattan bridge, a suspended structure has been begun, and the Blackwells Island bridge with cantilever spans resting on towers on the shores and on the island between is also in progress. The East river is now crossed by sixteen ferries of which eleven to Brooklyn. The charm of the East river as a residence vanished long ago. After the rising up of the rocky obstructions to navigation above and below the water level the panorama of vessels struggling in the currents disappeared; the once wild waters were tamed.

In the Hudson river the changes though not physically so marked to the artistic sense are yet considerable. As North street was once the home of the sailing ship so South street is to-day of the steamship, and such is the congestion on the river at its lower end from the enormous numbers of flyers, entering and leaving the port, the countless sampans which run up and down the stream, and the ferries in their perpetual crossing and recrossing with thousands of human freight, that it is now proposed to establish a water patrol to direct and control the course of ves-

sels; precisely as is done on our great street thoroughfares. Dr. Samuel Johnson delighted to stand on a street corner in London where he could see "the tide of humanity pass by"; so may we stand to-day on a recreation pier on the Hudson and see such a tide as he never dreamed of. Indeed it is the most interesting water front in the world. Lined as it is to-day with sixty docks, the resting places of the magnificent ocean palaces; which it may be added would never have been created except for the exceptional demand of the great American public; and for the colossal foreign commerce of the United States, of which one-half is carried on through this Port; often more. To-day there are five ferries to Hoboken and four to Jersey City, and twenty-seven landings of river boats, all at the wharves of Desbrosses, Franklin, Christopher, and West Tenth street. West street, the river front since 1807, begins at the Battery and ends at Gansevoort street and the Tenth avenue.

Just as the upper east side of Manhattan island has declined and fallen into disfavor, so its upper west side has maintained its native beauty and has received an addition of fine ornaments in residences and monuments. Its changes and improvements and the buildings which crown its heights for a distance of two miles below Claremont and Grant's tomb have in no way impaired its natural attractions. Its conformation has been preserved and adorned by the city authorities with discernment and taste. The famous Riverside drive now spans the Spuyten Duyvil and stretches high up into the annexed district of Westchester, part of Manhattan borough; upward and onward it will go threading the heights of the matchless river to the Highlands; a drive to which no avenue ancient or modern can be compared for its length and beauty unless the famous Appian way which ran from Rome to the Adriatic. The water girdle of the city is completed by the Spuyten Duyvil and Harlem rivers. At the time of the Commissioners report there were but two bridges across the Harlem. From the

last days of the seventeenth century (1693) there was a toll bridge across the Spuyten Duyvil which took the name of the Kings-bridge; over it passed the King's highway which on the continent forked and took its courses northerly to Albany and easterly to Boston through the Connecticut villages. This for more than sixty years was the only connection between Manhattan and the mainland. In 1758 Dyckmans or Farmers' bridge crossed the Harlem about a quarter of a mile east of the Spuyten Duyvil. In 1774 Lewis Morris the proprietor of the Manor of Morrisania built a bridge for a shorter communication, and in 1795 the present Harlem or Third avenue bridge was constructed by John B. Coles, a New York gentleman, which remained a toll bridge until 1858, when it was made free. All these were wooden bridges. The bridges constructed since have been of iron and at great expense. The Central Bridge at Macombs Dam (a dam which dated from 1813) was opened as a free bridge in 1861; the Madison avenue bridge in 1878. There are to-day thirteen bridges over the Harlem river. The Harlem ship canal connecting the East river at Hellgate, with a depth of twelve to fifteen feet was dredged by the United States government and handsomely walled with stone. It was opened to the passage of vessels in 1895. Yet in spite of all this enormous expenditure there are schemes to-day to fill up the entire course of the Harlem Ship Canal precisely as the canal in the old city has been filled. In the last half of the nineteenth century it was as it still in a measure is to-day a favorite resort for the lovers of aquatic sports. The boat houses of college crews and racing clubs still line its shores.

THE VAN RENSSELAER FAMILY.

BY W. W. SPOONER.

(*Concluded.*)

Greenbush and Claverack Branch.

AS has been seen under III. heretofore, the Van Rensselaer Family in its third American generation divided into two distinct lines—first, the so-called “Rensselaerswyck” line, from Kiliaen, eldest son of Jeremias and Maria (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer, and second, the “Greenbush and Claverack” line, from Hendrick, youngest son of the same; these brothers being the only American male grandchildren of the first Kiliaen of Amsterdam by whom the surname was continued.

Throughout colonial times and until the death of General Stephen Van Rensselaer (1839), the Rensselaerswyck family, preserving its vast estate as a hereditary unit under the system of entail, occupied a greatly preponderating position in the respect of magnitude and concentration of possessions; and well corresponding to the prestige by which it was thus distinguished was its reputation for character and worth represented by its successive heads. But during the period stated this elder branch was numerically small; from Kiliaen, of the third generation, to General Stephen, of the sixth, there was no younger son of the Rensselaerswyck line who left issue. Until within recent times, therefore, its activities were restricted to a very few members, and its record, comparatively viewed, is not one of much range or diversity of personal interests or careers.

On the other hand, the Van Rensselaers of Greenbush and Claverack were from the beginning a prolific family. In the third generation from Hendrick, the immediate progenitor of this branch—which coincided with revolutionary times,—his male descendants had already become quite numerous. The record given on a previous page strikingly shows the numerical superiority of the junior branch at that period; all the twelve Van Rensselaers who served in the revolutionary armies being of this family, as the senior branch (though of equal patriotism and military spirit) had no member of an age to bear arms. The line of Hendrick has maintained to the present time its decided advantage in numbers; and not alone in its male descent, but in its ramifications on the female side, is of far greater scope than the elder stock. It has naturally resulted that the superiority is also with the cadet branch in the aggregate of distinguished and noteworthy individualities; and in the matter of connections by marriage—of essential genealogical consequence—the younger line presents aspects quite as interesting and important as the elder.

I

KILIAEN VAN RENSSELAER of Amsterdam, Holland, born about 1595, died 1646; first patroon of Rensselaerswyck; married, 2d, Anna Van Wely. Their second son was

II

JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER, born in Holland about 1632, died at Rensselaerswyck, October 12, 1674 (n. s.); third patroon of Rensselaerswyck; married, July 12, 1662, Maria Van Cortlandt, daughter of Oloff Stevense and Annetje (Loockermans) Van Cortlandt. Their youngest son (fourth child) was

HENDRICK VAN RENSSELAER III

HENDRICK VAN RENSSELAER, born at Watervliet, N. Y., October 23, 1667. In conformity with English usages concerning the succession to estates, a patent of confirmation of the entire manor of Rensselaerswyck was issued to his elder brother Kiliaen on the 20th of May, 1704. Hendrick's right of inheritance was, however, recognized by Kiliaen in a deed of conveyance, executed June 1, 1704, by which the younger brother received the so-called "Lower" or "Eastern" Manor of Claverack, situated in the present Columbia County, N. Y., together with a tract opposite Albany, called Greenbush, and an island in the Hudson River; the Claverack Manor consisting of about sixty thousand and the Greenbush tract of eighteen hundred acres. Greenbush (from the Dutch *bet Greyne Bosch*) was a densely wooded strip running two miles back into Rensselaer County, and was a portion of the original purchase of the first patroon from the Indians. Claverack (from *Klever-ack*, clover field) was acquired later in two purchases, the first being made in 1649 by Brandt Van Slichtenhorst, vice director, and the second in 1670 by Jeremias Van Rensselaer.

With the Greenbush lands Hendrick became the owner of the historic mansion of the Van Rensselaers, "Fort Crailo." This house was built in 1642, the date being established by an inscription on a stone in the foundation walls: "K. V. R. 1642 Anno Domini." An opposite stone bears the name, "Do. Megapolensis," commemorating doubtless the coming of that celebrated divine, who, with his wife and children, sailed from Amsterdam in the patroon's ship in June, 1642. "Fort Crailo" was so called for the patroon's estate of "Crailo," near Huizen, in Holland. The dwelling was occupied originally by the Van Rensselaer agents who administered the colony in the absence of any member of the family. It was a massive structure, pierced with stone portholes for defense, two of which, in the front wall, are

still to be seen. According to Brodhead, when the Indians attacked and massacred many of the inhabitants of Wiltwyck, June 17, 1663, the farmers fled to the "patroons's new fort Crailo at Greenbush for protection;" and tradition says that it sustained several Indian sieges.

Hendrick Van Rensselaer established his residence in the old mansion, making various improvements. His eldest son and successor, Colonel Johannes Van Rensselaer, built, about 1740, an extensive addition, and, as thus reconstructed, "Fort Crailo" has continued, without material external alteration, to the present time. From Colonel Johannes the house passed in 1783 to his grandson, John Jeremias. After the latter's death (1829) it was occupied under lease by various persons until 1852, when his son, Dr. Jeremiah, removed to it with his family. Dr. Jeremiah's widow, inheriting the property, continued there for some years, when it was sold to strangers. Recently, through the efforts principally of Mrs. Susan de Lancey Van Rensselaer Strong (a descendant of Hendrick Van Rensselaer), it has been purchased and arrangements have been made for its permanent preservation.⁸

During the early generations of the junior branch the chief residence was "Fort Crailo;" but another mansion was built by Hendrick Van Rensselaer on the Claverack Manor, where also the family flourished and multiplied. The principal name associated with the Claverack estate is that of Brigadier-General Robert Van Rensselaer.

Although the share of the family possessions received by Hendrick was small compared with that of his elder broth-

⁸For the historical particulars of this ancient mansion we are indebted to a pamphlet published several years ago by Mrs. Strong, entitled "Fort Crailo, the Greenbush Manor House."

"Fort Crailo" has been described as "the first house of the Van Rensselaer Family built in America, and undoubtedly the oldest continuously inhabited dwelling in the state of New York." In colonial times and afterwards it was noted for a liberal and refined hospitality, and many of the most celebrated characters in American history have been among the guests entertained. It was here that the lines of "Yankee Doodle" were composed.

er, it was large, even for those times, measured by other and more representative standards. Besides, says Mrs. Strong, "the rich and fertile lands of Claverack were superior to the rocky soil of the Helderbergs. The sixty thousand acres of Claverack and the eighteen hundred of Greenbush brought forth abundantly under thrifty and diligent management. The many scions of the cadet branch were well portioned off with large and productive farms."

Previously to coming into his inheritance Hendrick Van Rensselaer had sought to acquire a domain of his own by the purchase from the Indians (1698) of the Schaghticoke Tract, six miles square, on the Hudson River; but owing to a claim of previous right of purchase advanced by the city of Albany, he eventually resigned this property. He was Indian commissioner for thirty years, member of the town council of Albany, and representative in the assembly.

Died at "Fort Crailo," July 4, 1740.

Married, March 19, 1689, Catharine (Annatje) Van Brugh, daughter of Johannes Van Brugh and Catharine Roeloffe Jans—the latter being a daughter of Annake Jans. Johannes Van Brugh was one of the schepens of New Amsterdam and a man of large wealth. A silver cup bequeathed by Anneke Jans to her daughter, Catharine Roeloffe Van Brugh, is still in the possession of the descendants of the latter's daughter, Mrs. Hendrick Van Rensselaer.

Issue:

1. Maria Van Rensselaer. M. Samuel Ten Broeck.
2. Catharine Van Rensselaer. M. Johannes Ten Broeck.
3. Anna Van Rensselaer. M. Peter Douw.
4. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer. M. John Richard.
5. Helena Van Rensselaer. M. Jacob Wendell.
6. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, d. young.
7. *Johannes Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.
8. Hendrick Van Rensselaer, known as Colonel Henry Van Rensselaer, b. May 8, 1712, d. July 9, 1793. In the Revolution he was "one of the two old men who could not go to the war." M., 1st, October 16, 1735, Elizabeth Van Brugh; 2d, November 20, 1762, Mrs. Alida (Livingston) Rutsen, widow of Jacob Rutsen, daughter

of Gilbert Livingston, and mother (by her first husband) of Cornelia Rutsen, who m. General Robert Van Rensselaer. Issue of Hendrick Van Rensselaer (all by his first marriage:)

i. Hendrick Van Rensselaer, d. unmarried.

ii. Johannes Van Rensselaer, d. young.

iii. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, b. July 15, 1740, d. February 19, 1810; lieutenant of the Second Regiment of the New York line in the Revolution, paymaster to the end of the war, and lieutenant-governor of New York, 1804-10. M. Helen Lansing; had one son (who did not marry) and three daughters; his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, m. (as his second wife) Peter E. Elmendorf.

iv. Margaretta Van Rensselaer. M. Francis Nicoll.

v. Johannes Van Rensselaer, b. September 23, 1742, d. June 23, 1802; a commissioned colonel in the Revolution. M. Frances Nicoll; no issue.

vi. Catharine Van Rensselaer. M. Harmanus Wendell.

vii. David Van Rensselaer, b. July 18, 1749, d. June 19, 1798; a commissioned major in the Revolution. M. Maria Schuyler; no issue.

viii. Killian Van Rensselaer, twin with the preceding; d. December 14, 1849; a commissioned lieutenant in the Revolution. M. Maria White. Two daughters, both of whom married.

ix. Peter Van Rensselaer, b. December 24, 1751, d. April 23, 1816. M., April 7, 1782, Maria Ten Broeck. Two of his children married: Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, m. Wessel Ten Broeck, and

Henry P. Van Rensselaer, b. October 8, 1794, d. January 25, 1874. He was the only male of this branch now represented by descendants. M., October 19, 1815, Jane A. Fort. Besides other children, they had four sons who left issue, as follows: Peter Van Rensselaer, m. Ann Truax; Abram Van Rensselaer, m. Sarah A. How; Vrooman Van Rensselaer, m. Mary Throop; and John Van Rensselaer, m. Eunice A. Power.

9. Kiliaen (Killian) Van Rensselaer, b. 1717, d. December 28, 1781. He was commissioned colonel of the Fourth Regiment, Albany County militia, on the 1st of April, 1778, and served to the end of the war; was a member of the Albany committee of correspondence, 1775; representative in the New York assembly for several terms, beginning in 1779. He died, writes a descendant, "leaving to his children an unblemished reputation for integrity, honor, and patriotism." M., 1st, January 7, 1742, Ariantje (Harriet) Schuyler, daughter of Nicholas Schuyler and Elsie Wendell, and has seven children: Hendrick, Philip, Nicholas, Killian K., Catharine (m. William Ludlow), Elsie (m. Abraham A. Lansing), and Maria (m. Leonard Gansevoort, Jr.). Sons:

i. Hendrick Van Rensselaer (called Henry K.), lieutenant-colonel and colonel in the Revolution; "defended Fort Ann with an unequal force with great bravery and obstinacy, in support of the retreat of our troops from Ticonderoga, July, 1777"; was badly wounded in this affair and made lame for life; d. 1816. He left a son, the noted Major-General Solomon Van Rensselaer (b. at Greenbush, August 6, 1774), who at the age of eighteen served as cornet in Wayne's expedition, was promoted to the command of a troop at the age of twenty, fought with much distinction throughout the War of 1812, and was appointed by Governor DeWitt Clinton brevet major-general of New York militia. General Solomon Van Rensselaer m. his first cousin, Harriet Van Rensselaer, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Van Rensselaer (below); they resided at "Cherry Hill," a property below "The Flatts" (Albany) which belonged to her (Harriet's) mother. The daughter of General Solomon and Harriet Van Rensselaer, named Harriet Maria Van Rensselaer, inherited "Cherry Hill" from her grandmother; she m. Peter Edward Elmendorf and left a daughter, Harriet Van Rensselaer Elmendorf, who m. John W. Gould. This last couple live in Newark, N. J., and have issue one son, Edmund Westerlo Gould; he m. Elizabeth Tripp, their issue being Edmund Elmendorf Gould and Catharine Livingston Gould. "Cherry Hill" is now owned and occupied by Edward M. Rankin, a well-known lawyer of Albany, whose wife is a descendant of Robert S. Van Rensselaer, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Van Rensselaer (who built the house); it has been carefully restored.

ii. Philip Van Rensselaer, lieutenant-colonel in the Revolution on the general staff of the ordnance department, his commission being received from General Philip Schuyler and confirmed by congress; had charge of the military stores of the northern department during the war; was also a member of the committee of safety of Albany.

iii. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, captain in Goos Van Schaick's regiment, New York line, to the end of the Revolution.

iv. Killian K. Van Rensselaer, b. at the Greenbush Manor House, June 9, 1763, d. June 18, 1845; educated at Yale; admitted to the New York bar in 1784; district attorney of Columbia County, active in military affairs, and member of congress for several terms; lived after his marriage at Albany. M., January 27, 1791, Margaretta Sanders, daughter of John Sanders of Scotia; a son was John Sanders Van Rensselaer of Albany, who had a son, the late Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, D. D., author of "Annals of the Van Rensselaers of the United States, Especially as they Relate to the Family of Killian K.

Van Rensselaer" (1888). Another descendant of this line was the late Mrs. Catharine Van Rensselaer Bonney, author of the very notable work, "A Legacy of Historical Gleanings" (1875).

Colonel Killian Van Rensselaer, youngest son of Hendrick, m., 2d, September 18, 1769, Maria Low; no issue.

THE RENSSELAER IV

COLONEL JOHANNES VAN RENSSELAER, eldest son of Hendrick and Catharine (Van Brugh) Van Rensselaer, was born in the "Fort Crailo" Manor House, February 11, 1708. He inherited Greenbush and Claverack from his father, residing throughout his long life at "Fort Crailo," where all his children were born. As early as 1737 when he was a member of the twenty-first provincial assembly of New York, he ranged himself on the side of the radicals. In 1743 he was appointed captain of a company of foot, later being promoted to colonel. He was an active supporter of American independence, though too old to take a personal part in the Revolutionary War. But his youngest brother, Killian, three of his sons, and eight of his nephews held commissions in the continental army. In June, 1775, the American troops, while on the march to Ticonderoga, held their cantonment on his grounds; and in 1777 his residence was for a time the headquarters of the northern army, commanded by his son-in-law, General Philip Schuyler.

Died in the summer of 1783.

Married, 1st, January 3, 1734, Angelica Livingston.

Issue:

1. Catharine Van Rensselaer, b. 1734. M., September 17, 1755, Philip Schuyler, afterward major-general, United States senator from New York, etc.
2. *Jeremias Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.
3. *Robert Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.
4. Hendrick Johannes Van Rensselaer, b. October 23, 1742 (o. s.), d. at the Claverack Manor House, March 22, 1814. Before the Revolution he was captain in the company of foot in the British

army of which his father was colonel. In 1777 he was commissioned colonel in the continental forces. "The food supply for the northern army under General Schuyler was raised in the Claverack Manor, and it was the duty of Colonel Henry J. Van Rensselaer from 1776 to 1783 to induce the tenants to remain on the manor to plant and cultivate the land, and then dispose of their produce to him upon faith of future payments by a revolutionary government." M., November 16, 1765, Rachel Douw, daughter of his cousin, Volkert P. Douw. Seven children. His eldest son, Johannes Hendrick Van Rensselaer (known as John H.), was b. March 8, 1768, m., 1798, Elizabeth, daughter of Harmanus Wendell of Albany, and had an only son, Hendrick Johannes Van Rensselaer (known as young Henry J.), who was b. January 21, 1806, m., May 5, 1830, Susan, daughter of Robert A. Barnard of Hudson, N. Y., and d. September 10, 1874. A descendant, Hendrick, Johannes Van Rensselaer Barnard, is now living in the Claverack Manor House, built (1704-8) by the first Hendrick Van Rensselaer. Another descendant in the line of Colonel Hendrick Johannes Van Rensselaer, Miss Elizabeth Wendell Van Rensselaer, resides in Hudson, N. Y., and possesses many rare and interesting family relics.

5. *James Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

Colonel Johannes Van Rensselaer married, 2d, Gertrude Van Cortlandt.

V

JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER, eldest son of Johannes and Angelica (Livingston) Van Rensselaer, was born at "Fort Crailo" in 1738. Owing to his early death, many years before that of his father, he did not succeed to the family estates, his position as the principal heir, however, being succeeded to by his only son.

Died in 1769.

Married, July 3, 1758, Judith Bayard.

Issue:

1. *John Jeremias Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

GENERAL ROBERT VAN RENSSELAER, second son of Johannes and Angelica (Livingston) Van Rensselaer,

was born at "Fort Crailo," December 16, 1740, being named for his maternal grandfather, Robert Livingston, Jr. He resided in the Manor House at Claverack.

In common with all of his family who were able to bear arms during the Revolution, Robert was in the military service of his country, and his is the most distinguished Van Rensselaer name identified with that war. The commission of colonel of the Eighth Regiment, Albany County militia, was issued to him on the 20th of October, 1775, and that of brigadier-general, Second Brigade, Albany County militia, on June 16, 1780. He fought at Ticonderoga under the orders of his brother-in-law, General Philip Schuyler, and commanded the militia which pursued and defeated Sir John Johnston when on his famous raid in the Mohawk Valley in 1780.

From 1775 to 1777 he was the representative in the New York provincial congress of the Eastern Manor (comprising Greenbush and Claverack).

Died at the Claverack Manor House, September 11, 1802, and was buried with distinguished honors from the city of Hudson close beside the wall of the Claverack Church. The *Balance and Columbian Repository*, of Hudson, in an account of his large military funeral, said: "General Van Rensselaer was a zealous and active officer during the Revolutionary War, and since the peace has discharged the duties of a military and civil officer with honor to himself and advantage to the community. In private life his virtues secured to him esteem as his public services commanded general approbation. His residence at Claverack Manor was a place of refuge for many afflicted settlers on the Mohawk when flying from the incursions of the Indian allies of the British. To the poor and needy his heart and purse were never closed."

Married, April 23, 1765, Cornelia Rutsen, daughter of Colonel Jacob and Alida (Livingston) Rutsen; she was born 1747 and died January 31, 1790.

Issue:

1. John Van Rensselaer, b. 1766, d. in early manhood. M. Angelica Van Rensselaer, daughter of Colonel Henry and Rachel (Douw) Van Rensselaer of Claverack; no issue. His widow m., 2d, John C. Schuyler, and 3d, Derrick Lane, by whom she had a son and daughter.

2. *Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

3. *Jeremias Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

4. Alida Van Rensselaer, d. March, 1799. M., in 1793, Elisha Kane, son of John and Sybil (Kent) Kane.

5. Catharine Van Rensselaer, b. about 1770-1. d. February 2, 1867. M. Colonel John Arent Schuyler of Belleville, N. J. Issue:

i. Angelica Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. 1810, d. March, 1864; "a woman of fine abilities and great strength of character."

ii. John Arent Schuyler, b. 1811, d. November 21, 1855. M. Frances Elizabeth Bleecker, daughter of Alexander Bleecker of Brooklyn, N. Y.; no issue.

iii. Robert Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. 1813, d. February 19, 1855. M. Kate Mancini of New York. Issue:

1. Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. July 27, 1852; resides in New York City. M., June 26, 1899, Ethel Cornelia Paul, daughter of Cornelius Danforth Paul of New York City.

iv. Catharine Gertrude Schuyler, b. January 15, 1815. d. October 8, 1881. M., October 4, 1838, Henry S. Craig.

5. v. Jacob Rutsen Schuyler, b. February 23, 1816, d. February 4, 1887; head of the firm of Schuyler, Hartley and Graham, manufacturers of arms for the United States government during the Civil War, with works at Bridgeport, Conn.; resided at Bergen Point, N. J. (now Bayonne). M., November 18, 1847, Susanna Haigh Edwards. Issue:

1. Sarah Edwards Schuyler, b. April 6, 1849, d. May 30, 1897.

2. Katharine Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. August 13, 1855, d. December 10, 1892. M., March 20, 1879, Henry Thornton Imbrie of Jersey City. Issue: Henry Thornton Imbrie and Schuyler Imbrie.

3. Rutsen Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. February 4, 1853. M., 1st, February 4, 1872, Augusta H. Mellick; 2d, April 3, 1889, Mary Amelia Hall. Issue (by first marriage): Rutsen Van Rensselaer Schuyler, Jr., and Sarah Edwards Schuyler; (by second marriage): Marguerite Van Rensselaer Schuyler and Janet Smiley Schuyler.

4. Edwards Ogden Schuyler, b. May 23, 1863, d. January 4, 1905. M., October 12, 1887, Georgia A. de Fontaine. Issue: Katharine Van Rensselaer Schuyler and Sarah Edwards Schuyler.

5. Susanna Edwards Schuyler, b. March 10, 1863, d. January 10, 1903. M., February 8, 1887, Nicholas Murray Butler, now president of Columbia University. Issue: Sarah Schuyler Butler.

6. Angelica Van Rensselaer Schuyler, b. January 23, 1870. M., October 5, 1892, De Lagnal Haigh; they reside at Summit, N. J. Issue: Angelica Van Rensselaer Haigh, Rebecca Mac Rae Haigh, and Thomas Devereux Haigh.

6. Angelica Van Rensselaer, b. about 1785, d. at "Mount Schuyler," Belleville, N. J., the residence of her sister, Mrs. John Arent Schuyler, November 23, 1818. M., February 11, 1813, Rev. Thomas Yardley How. Issue:

i. Robert Field How, b. November 15, 1813, d. at Brownville, N. Y., August, 1835.

ii. Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer How, b. December 6, 1814, d. at Auburn, N. Y., May 12, 1865. Issue:

1. Catharine Van Rensselaer How, d. May, 1903.

2. Clara A. How, resides in Buffalo, N. Y.

3. Fanny How.

iii. Angelica Van Rensselaer How, b. April 23, 1817, d. in Auburn, N. Y., February, 1901. M. Judge Hulbert of Auburn, N. Y.; no issue.

7. *Henry Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

8. *James Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

MAJOR JAMES VAN RENSSELAER, youngest son of Colonel Johannes and Angelica (Livingston) Van Rensselaer, was born at "Fort Crailo" in 1747. He was aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain, to Major-General Richard Montgomery from August to December, 1775, serving through the Canadian campaign at Fort Chambly, St. John's, Montreal, and Quebec. In April, 1776, he became captain in the Second Regiment of the New York line under Colonel James Clinton, and from June to August of the same year was aide-de-camp, with the rank of major, to General Philip Schuyler, in the northern army.

Died at "Crystal Hall," February 1, 1827.

Married, 1st, Catharine Van Cortlandt.

Issue:

1. John Van Rensselaer, b. at "Crystal Hall," 1784; was possessed of large means, and was one of the most prominent members of the Van Rensselaer Family of his times; removed to Belleville, N. J., where the related family of the Arent Schuyler line re-

sided, and where he d. in 1870. M. Elizabeth Van Cortlandt (who was b. 1787, d. 1868). Issue:

i. James Van Rensselaer, b. 1812, d. 1840. M. Margaret Duxbury (who was b. 1810, d. 1879). Issue:

1. James Van Rensselaer. M. Margaret Rutgers Birch. Issue: i. Elizabeth Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, b. 1868; m. Charles Boel of Antwerp, Belgium. ii. Sarah Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. 1870. iii. James Henry Van Rensselaer, b. 1872; m. Florence N. Smillie (their children being Florence Van Rensselaer, b. 1900, and Bayard Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, b. 1903). iv. Marie Antoinette Van Rensselaer, b. 1874; m. Fritz Unger (their children being Margaret Van Rensselaer Unger, b. 1900, and Schuyler Van Rensselaer Unger, b. 1902). v. Margaret Rutgers Van Rensselaer, b. 1878; m. Dr. Antonie Voislowsky (who was b. in Poland). vi. Rebecca Coffin Van Rensselaer, b. 1885.

ii. Stephen Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer. M. Sarah Schuyler. Issue, Stephen Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, d. young.

iii. Catharine Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer. M. her cousin, Gratz Van Rensselaer (see below).

Major James Van Rensselaer married, 2nd, June 24, 1789, Mrs. Elsie (Schuyler) Bogert (who was born February 5, 1760, and died September 26, 1838). She was the widow of Dr. Nicholas Bogert of New York, daughter of Nicholas and Elsie (Wendell) Schuyler, and sister of Ariantje Schuyler, who married Colonel Killian Van Rensselaer, son of Hendrick.

Issue:

2. Angelica Van Rensselaer.

3. Philip Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. 1797. M. Henrietta Ann Schuyler, daughter of John H. Schuyler and granddaughter of Harmanus. One son,

Gratz Van Rensselaer, b. 1834. M. Catharine Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, daughter of James, son of John and Elizabeth (Van Cortlandt) Van Rensselaer. Issue:

1. Philip Schuyler Van Rensselaer, d. unmarried.

2. Cortlandt Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. in New York City; graduated from Hobart College and the Columbia Law School; lawyer in Eau Claire, Wis., and subsequently in New York, serving as assistant United States district attorney in the latter city; now identified with financial interests in New York, where he resides; member of prom-

inent clubs and patriotic organizations. M., 1891, Horace Macaulay, daughter of William Macaulay. Issue: i. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, b. 1900.

3. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer. M. Dr. George L. Hull. Issue, George L. Hull, Jr.

4. John Van Rensselaer, M. D., resides in Washington, D. C. M. Mary Johnston.

5. Margaret Van Rensselaer.

4. James Van Rensselaer, d. unmarried.

VI

Line of Jeremias Van Rensselaer (V.)

JOHN JEREMIAS VAN RENSSELAER, only son of Jeremias and Judith (Bayard) Van Rensselaer, was born at "Fort Crailo," about 1769. Under the will of his grandfather, Colonel Johannes Van Rensselaer, he inherited the Greenbush lands, with the ancient mansion, which he remodelled in its interior. He served as lieutenant-colonel of the Fourteenth Regiment, Albany County militia.

Died September 22, 1828.

Married Catharine Glen.

Issue:

1. Catharine Glen Van Rensselaer, d. 1866. M. Nanning Visscher, son of Colonel Visscher of the British army; no issue.

2. John Jeremias Van Rensselaer, d. young.

3. Dr. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, b. 1796, d. 1871; resided during his last years at "Fort Crailo." M., 1st, Charlotte Foster; 2d, Annie F. Waddington. Issue (by first marriage):

i. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, b. 1824, d. 1866. M. Julia Jaudon. Issue:

1. Augustus Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, present head of the Greenbush and Claverack branch of the Van Rensselaer Family; resides at "Fair Acres," Stockbridge, Mass.

2. Peyton J. Van Rensselaer, resides at 16 East Thirty-second Street, New York.

ii. Francis Van Rensselaer, b. 1829, d. 1871. M., 1851, Anne G. Moore. Issue:

1. Foster Van Rensselaer, d. 1871.

2. Glen Van Rensselaer, b. 1867, d. 1886.

4. Glen Van Rensselaer, b. 1798, d. 1871.

5. Cornelius Van Rensselaer, b. 1801; d. June, 1871. M., October 31, 1826, Catharine Westerlo Bleecker, daughter of John Bleecker and Elizabeth Van Rensselaer (who was the daughter of Stephen Van Rensselaer IV.). Issue:

i. John Van Rensselaer, d. young.

ii. Stephen Bleecker Van Rensselaer, d. young.

iii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer, b. 1831. M., 1856. Rev. Cornelius Winter Bolton of Pelham, N. Y.

iv. Katharine Westerlo Van Rensselaer, b. 1834.

v. Dr. John Van Rensselaer, b. 1836; resides at Swartswood, N. J. M., 1864, Florence Taylor. Issue:

1. Lyndsay Van Rensselaer, b. 1870. M. Lolita A. Coffin. Issue, Catharine Glen Van Rensselaer.

2. Florence Van Rensselaer.

6. Visscher Van Rensselaer; resides in Rensselaer, N. Y. M., September 3, 1866, Mary Augusta Miller. Issue:

i. Katharine Westerlo Van Rensselaer, b. September 3, 1867, d. February 12, 1896. M., January 23, 1894, Benjamin Walworth Arnold of Albany, N. Y. Issue, Katharine Van Rensselaer Arnold, b. January 28, 1896.

ii. Cornelius Glen Van Rensselaer, b. September 24, 1869. M., 1898, Genevieve Vessell. Issue:

1. Katharine Stewart Van Rensselaer, b. 1903.

iii. Cornelia Livingston Van Rensselaer, b. June 5, 1879. M., March 21, 1900, Hon. Theodore Strong of New Brunswick, N. J., son of Hon. Woodbridge and Harriet A. (Hartwell) Strong and brother of Alan Hartwell Strong (below). Mr. Strong is a lawyer at New Brunswick, is active in politics, was formerly state senator of New Jersey, and is at present a member of the state board of railroad assessors. Issue:

1. Theodore Strong, b. January 3, 1901.

2. Cornelia Livingston Van Rensselaer Strong, b. November 16, 1902.

3. Katharine Van Rensselaer Strong, b. November 10, 1904.

Line of General Robert Van Rensselaer (V.)

COLONEL JACOB RUTSEN VAN RENSSELAER, second son of General Robert and Cornelia (Rutsen) Van Rensselaer, was born in 1767. He resided at Hudson, N. Y.

He possessed large means, and exercised an important influence in the affairs of New York State, was a member of the legislature (his term expiring in June, 1812,) was actively interested in the building of the Erie Canal, and was

associated with Governor De Witt Clinton and Abraham Varick in this undertaking and business ventures. According to an old letter, dated June 17, 1812, he was at that time expecting orders to march to Niagara, and was "spoken of among a number of his party friends as a candidate for the office of governor of this state the ensuing election."

Married Cornelia de Peyster, daughter of Pierre de Peyster.

Issue:

1. Cornelia Van Rensselaer, d. young.
2. Pierre Van Rensselaer, d. young.
3. Cornelia Van Rensselaer, d. at the age of nineteen.
4. Pierre Van Rensselaer, d. at about the age of twenty-five.
5. Jacob Rutten Van Rensselaer. M., 1848, Emily Denning of Fishkill, N. Y. Issue:
 - i. Emily Denning Van Rensselaer.
6. Robert Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. about 1810, d. about 1874; resided at Bordentown, N. J.; president of the Camden and Amboy Railroad. M. Virginia Kidd. Issue:
 - i. Virginia Van Rensselaer. M. Robert Kidd. They reside at New Brighton, Staten Island.
 - ii. Robert Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. 1851; graduated at Yale; civil engineer. M. Arrietta Archer. Issue:
 1. Le Roy Van Rensselaer.
7. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, b. 1812, d. July 8, 1874, in New Brunswick, N. J. He was interested in railways, and was the founder of Dodd's Express. M. Mary Fleming, daughter of Gilbert Fleming. Issue:
 - i. James Fleming Van Rensselaer, b. December 4, 1844, d. January 3, 1900. M., February 7, 1866, Annie J. Harriman, sister of E. H. Harriman. His widow resides in Los Angeles, Cal. Issue:
 1. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, b. October 27, 1866. M., November, 1889, Virginia Robinson. Issue: i. Franklyn Robinson Van Rensselaer, b. August 18, 1890. ii. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, b. July 27, 1893. iii. William Beverley Van Rensselaer, b. October 22, 1896.
 2. Cornelia Neilson Van Rensselaer, b. April 4, 1868.
 3. Orlando Harriman Van Rensselaer, b. March 13, 1870. M. Minnie Louise Kramer. Issue: i. Robert Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. September 19, 1900. ii. Evelyn Lucile Van Rensselaer, b. April 23, 1902.
 4. Rutten Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. March 16, 1872, d. December 31, 1875.

5. Mary Fleming Van Rensselaer, b. April 18, 1874, d. June 21, 1875.

6. James Fleming Van Rensselaer, b. August 18, 1875. M., October 8, 1903. Jane Boylan Glover of Augusta, Ga.

Issue: i. Katrina Van Rensselaer, b. June 8, 1905.

7. Anna Harriman Van Rensselaer, b. August 31, 1877. M., October 8, 1904. Louis Cuthbert Masten of Omaha, Neb. Issue: i. Anna Harriman Masten, b. December 20, 1905.

8. Katrina Van Rensselaer, b. May 29, 1879. M., July 17, 1902. Maurice Edwin Ginn of Boston. Issue: i. Katrina Van Rensselaer Ginn, b. September 16, 1903, d. January 23, 1905.

9. Mary Frances Van Rensselaer, b. May 1, 1881. M., February 21, 1906. Rufus Janvier Briscoe, Jr.

10. Robert Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. May 27, 1882, d. December 13, 1890.

8. Catharine Van Rensselaer. She was a very beautiful and accomplished young woman, who died of grief for the loss of her father; and the affliction of Catharine's death was the direct cause of the decease of her eldest sister, Cornelia. The story of these sisters has been long told in the family, and is preserved in the "Recollections" of the late Miss Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer of New Brunswick, N. J.

JEREMIAS VAN RENSELLAER, third son of General Robert and Cornelia (Rutsen) Van Rensselaer, was born at the Greenbush Manor House in 1769. He resided many years at Utica, N. Y., where he was one of the most prominent citizens and actively identified with commercial enterprise, being the head of the firm of Van Rensselaer and Kane, which transacted a great business in bringing grain from the west and also had a large trade in coffee and spices from the West Indies. A branch of the house was located at St. Croix, under the charge of the Cidwises (relatives of Jeremias Van Rensselaer's wife) and of John Cullen (brother of the wife of James Van Rensselaer, Jr.). In one of the financial panics which prostrated the trade of the country Mr. Van Rensselaer's firm failed. He then removed to Canandaigua, N. Y., where he died in January, 1827.

Married, about 1797, Sybil Adeline Kane of Albany,

daughter of John and Sybil (Kent) Kane. The family connections and associations involved in this marriage are of much interest. As seen under V., Alida Van Rensselaer, a sister of Jeremias, also married a Kane (Elisha, brother of Jeremias's wife). John Kane, the American progenitor of the Kane Family, came about the middle of the eighteenth century from County Antrim, Ireland, where are still to be seen the ruins of Dunseverick Castle, the ancient family seat of the O'Kanes or O'Cahans. Accompanying John Kane to this country was Charles Cullen of County Ulster; and the two friends married daughters of Rev. Elisha Kent. Charles Cullen and his wife died in their early prime, and their daughter "Patty" (named for Martha de Lancey) also died at an early age. Thereupon the other Cullen children, Susan de Lancey Cullen and John Kane Cullen, were taken by their aunt, Mrs. Kane of Albany, whose daughter, Sybil Adeline Kane, married Jeremias Van Rensselaer of Utica. Mrs. Kane, when her death was approaching, desired that her young niece, Susan de Lancey Cullen, should live with her daughter, Mrs. Jeremias Van Rensselaer of Utica; and from this arrangement resulted eventually the marriage of Miss Cullen with James Van Rensselaer, the youngest brother of Jeremias; Miss Cullen's brother, John Kane Cullen, being provided for meanwhile by the West Indian agency of the house of Van Rensselaer and Kane. As seen below, the eldest daughter of Jeremias and Sybil Adeline (Kane) Van Rensselaer, married Francis Granger, postmaster-general of the United States, and it was to be with this daughter that Jeremias Van Rensselaer removed to Canandaigua (the home of the Grangers). The most close and tender intimacy was maintained by Jeremias with the family of his brother, James, in Utica (the wives being first cousins). James's daughter, Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer, who died recently at New Brunswick, N. J., in her ninety-third year, was educated in the family of Jere-

mias at Canandaigua, and has told and written most graphic accounts of the life there.

Issue:

1. Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer, b. about 1798 in Utica, N. Y., d. before her parents. She was a singularly beautiful and accomplished lady. M. Francis Granger, subsequently postmaster-general. Issue:

i. Gideon Granger, d. November, 1905. M. Antoinette Isaphene Pierson of Ramapo, N. Y., (who d. November, 1903). Issue: Antoinette Granger and Isaphene Granger (both residing in Canandaigua).

ii. Adele Granger. M. John Thayer of Boston, Mass. (brother of Nathaniel Thayer, who m. Cornelia Van Rensselaer, daughter of Stephen Van Rensselaer IV. of the Rensselaerswyck line). Issue: Adele Granger Thayer, who now resides in Boston.—Mrs. Adele (Granger) Thayer m., 2d, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

2. Alida Van Rensselaer, b. in Utica, 1800, d. at "The Hermitage," Mount Morris, Livingston County, N. Y., March 8, 1832. M., May 9, 1820, Judge Charles Holker Carroll (who was b. May 4, 1794, d. July 22, 1865, a descendant of the Carrolls of Carrollton). Issue: six children, of whom only two survived to maturity and had descendants, as follows:

i. Cornelia Granger Carroll, b. at "The Hermitage," August 4, 1826. M., May 15, 1850, Edward P. Fuller; they reside in Grand Rapids, Mich. Issue:

1. Sophia Fuller, b. October 14, 1857. M., April 26, 1876, Edwin F. Sweet, now mayor of Grand Rapids; their children being: i. Carroll Fuller Sweet, b. June 24, 1877; graduated at Yale, 1899. ii. George Fuller Sweet, b. November 4, 188: graduated at the University of Michigan, 1904. iii. Sidney Edward Sweet, b. August 31, 1883; graduated at Yale, 1905. iv. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Sweet, b. November 5, 1886; graduated at Dana Hall, Wellesley College, 1904. v. Sophia Fuller Sweet, b. October 5, 1902.

2. Philo Carroll Fuller, b. March 19, 1857; graduated at Yale, 1881; resides in Grand Rapids. M., December 25, 1882, Harriet Isabel Gilbert (who d. November 13, 1890). Issue: i. Catharine Gilbert Fuller, b. October 12, 1884. ii. Margaret Carroll Fuller, b. March 7, 1886. iii. Edward Philo Fuller, b. July 1, 1887.

3. Carroll Fuller, b. October 29, 1859, d. April 9, 1872.

ii. Anne E. Carroll, b. at "The Hermitage," May 11, 1828, d. at the residence of her sister, Mrs. Fuller, in Grand Rapids. M., December 24, 1849, William D. Fitzhugh of "Hampton," Livingston County, N. Y. Issue:

1. Anne Fitzhugh, b. 1850. M., 1861, Hamilton Carroll Wright; resides in Bay City, Mich. Issue: Virginia Wright, m. Dr. Thomas L. Kane of Kane, Pa. (their children being Elizabeth Dennistoun Kane, Archibald Van Rensselaer Kane, and Sibyl Kent Kane); Hamilton Mercer Wright, m. Elizabeth Pease (their children being Hamilton Mercer Wright and Eugene Wright); Sibyl Katherine Wright, m. Dr. George S. McLandress (child, Virginia McLandress); Cornelia Fitzhugh Wright, Archibald Van Rensselaer Wright, Charles Carroll Wright, Alida Fitzhugh Wright, and William Edward Wright.
2. Alida Catharine Fitzhugh, d. in Texas.
3. Carroll Fitzhugh, d. 1880.
4. Cornelia Fitzhugh. M. Richard Conover of Princeton, N. J.; they reside in Bay City, Mich. Issue: Carroll Fitzhugh Conover, b. February 8, 1890; Helen Field Conover, b. March 21, 1898; and Alida Van Rensselaer Conover, b. February 6, 1900.
5. Edward F. D. Fitzhugh; graduated at Harvard; chemist.
3. Catharine Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. 1802, d. about 1873. Unmarried; lived at "The Hermitage," being a second mother to her Carroll nieces.
4. Robert Van Rensselaer, b. about 1805, d. about 1840. M. Margaret Stuyvesant; no issue.
5. Archibald Kane Van Rensselaer, b. about 1808. Unmarried.
6. Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, b. about 1811, d. about 1840. M. Virginia Hutchins of Norfolk, Va.; one son, Archibald Kane Van Rensselaer.—Mrs. Virginia (Hutchins) Van Rensselaer m., 2d, Hamilton Wright of New Orleans; of her children were Hamilton Mercer Wright (who m. Anne Fitzhugh above) and Nina Wright, la Marquise de Podestad.
7. James Carnahan Van Rensselaer. Unmarried.
8. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. M. Mary Hartwell of Detroit, Mich.; no issue known.

HENRY VAN RENSSELAER, fourth son of General Robert and Cornelia (Rutsen) Van Rensselaer, was born November 8, 1775. He resided near Hudson, N. Y., his family removing after his death to Poughkeepsie.

Died November 19, 1852.

Married, November 30, 1800, Catharine D. Hoffman, sister of Samuel Verplanck Hoffman and aunt of the late Very Rev. Eugene A. Hoffman, D. D.; she was born January 14, 1779, died December 31, 1863.

Issue:

1. Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer, d. November 21, 1861. M. Robert B. Rutgers. Issue: Margaret Bayard Rutgers m. Mr. Finlay, and had children.
2. Catharine Hoffman Van Rensselaer, b. 1803, d. May 4, 1880.
3. Alida Van Rensselaer, b. 1805, d. February 13, 1864.
4. Angelica Van Rensselaer, b. 1807, d. May 23, 1881. M. Rufus Reed.
5. Charlotte M. Van Rensselaer, b. 1811, d. December 6, 1855.
6. Adeline Van Rensselaer, b. about 1813, d. 1887.
7. Harriet Van Rensselaer, b. about 1816, d. January 3, 1879.
8. Herman Robert Van Rensselaer, b. about 1817, d. August 28, 1855.

JAMES VAN RENSSELAER, fifth and youngest son of General Robert and Cornelia (Rutsen) Van Rensselaer, was born at the Claverack Manor House, December 1, 1783. He lived for many years at Utica, N. Y., being a member of the house of Van Rensselaer and Kane. After the failure of that concern he removed (1835) to Indiana, for the purpose of purchasing and settling government land. He bought a large tract in what is now Jasper County, Ind., and on June 11, 1836, the title to the Falls of the Iroquois was in his name. A town was laid out soon afterward, which by act of the legislature, February 18, 1840, was named Rensselaer. It is now a city and the county seat, located on the Monon Railroad seventy miles south of Chicago. A number of the names of streets—as Susan, Cullen, Cornelia, Rutsen, and Angelica—are of family origin.

In 1840 Mr. Van Rensselaer brought his family to his new home, and they resided there until after his death (March 12, 1847). He is buried in the enclosure of the Presbyterian Church, which owes its origin to his efforts and which stands on land given by his son. The Daughters of the American Revolution have established at Rensselaer a General Van Rensselaer Chapter, in honor of James's father, General Robert.

Married, in Utica, N. Y., May 11, 1811, Susan de Lancey Cullen, daughter of Charles Cullen, Esq. (from County Ul-

ster, Ireland), and his wife, Lucy Kent (second daughter of Rev. Elisha Kent of Mt. Carmel, Putnam County, N. Y.). Susan de Lancey (Cullen) Van Rensselaer was born October 14, 1786, at Mt. Carmel, and died June 23, 1863, at New Brunswick, N. J.

Issue:

1. *John Cullen Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.
2. *Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer*, b. at Utica, N. Y., July 24, 1813, d. at the residence of her niece, Mrs. Alan H. Strong, at New Brunswick, N. J., January 10, 1906. The following is from a published tribute: "Miss Van Rensselaer was a woman of rare qualities of mind and heart. Her noble and unselfish character, displayed throughout her long and useful life, endeared her to a large circle of friends who will cherish her memory as that of a faithful and exemplary Christian. Born in Utica in the palmy days of that old city, in her passes a link with the early history of manorial life along the Hudson. She vividly remembered the life at Claverack Manor as early as 1826, and her unerring memory and great story-telling talent have preserved many facts of interest and value relating to life along the upper Hudson and the social intercourse among the closely allied families of the great manors during the early part of the nineteenth century."

3. *Susan de Lancey Cullen Van Rensselaer*, b. at Utica, December 7, 1816, d. at New Brunswick, N. J., September 22, 1870. M., August 20, 1839, at Utica, Henry Weston (b. February 12, 1806, at Sandy Hill, N. Y., d. July 1, 1880, at New Brunswick, N. J.).

Issue:

i. *Van Rensselaer Weston*, b. March 23, 1842, d. May 7, 1842, at Rensselaer, Ind.

ii. *Willoughby Weston*, b. at Rensselaer, Ind., August 23, 1843, d. in New York City, April 26, 1902. M., 1st, in New Brunswick, N. J., October 26, 1875, *Katharine Van Nest Janeway* (b. March 21, 1852, d. October 11, 1900). Issue: *Henry Janeway Weston*, b. July 30, 1876, d. June 7, 1898.—*Willoughby Weston m.*, 2d, *Charlotte Nicoll Minton*.

iii. *Rensselaer Weston*, b. May 23, 1846, at Rensselaer, Ind.; graduated at Rutgers College, 1868; resides in New York City.

iv. *James Cronkhite Weston*, b. at Metuchen, N. J., December 8, 1849; graduated at Rutgers College 1870; civil engineer. M., September 2, 1884, at Cornwall, N. Y., *Harriet Matthiesen*. Issue: *Theodora Weston*, b. August 26, 1885, at Galena, Alturas County, Idaho.

v. *Henry de Eresby Weston*, b. at Metuchen, N. J., April

17, 1852; graduated at Rutgers, 1873, lawyer; resides in New York City.

4. Angelica (called Engeltie) Schuyler Van Rensselaer, b. at Utica, 1817, d. at Philadelphia, July 12, 1874. "One to whom long years of suffering, from childhood borne with heroic patience, taught the way of the Holy Cross, kindling in her such a flame of ardent devotion that the memorials left by the brilliant mind which dominated the frail body read like the saints of old."

VII

Line of General Robert Van Rensselaer (V.)

JOHN CULLEN VAN RENSSELAER, eldest son of James and Susan de Lancey (Cullen) Van Rensselaer, was born in Utica, N. Y., February 16, 1812. He studied law under the distinguished Judge Denio, and was admitted to the bar. In 1835 he went to Indiana with his father, the two being among the earliest pioneers of the regions along the Iroquois. He remained there until his marriage in 1838, when he returned to the east, but always continued actively interested in the town which his father founded, visiting it nearly every year.

During the greater part of his married life Mr. Van Rensselaer resided in New York City. He was known among a wide circle of friends for remarkable natural gifts and varied culture, was a brilliant raconteur, and possessed of great personal and social charm. It has been said that had he continued in the practice of his profession he might easily have won a leading place among New York lawyers.

Died at Ortley Beach, Ocean County, N. J., July 4, 1889.

Married, May 17, 1838, in Ascension Church, New York City, Cornelia Josepha Codwise.

Issue:

1. Mary Van Rensselaer, b. at No. 7 Waverly Place, New York, May 17, 1839, d. at New Brunswick, N. J., February 5, 1871. M., at Cazenovia, N. Y., September 3, 1869, Hon. Andrew Kirkpatrick Cogswell of New Brunswick, N. J., judge of the court of common pleas, grandson of Chief-Justice Andrew Kirkpatrick and also of Colonel John Bayard. Issue:

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i. Andrew Kirkpatrick Cogswell, b. and d. June 21, 1868

ii. Cullen Van Rensselaer Cogswell, b. in New Brunswick, September 5, 1869; educated at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.; resides in New York City. M., January 1, 1896, at "Riverdale," Dedham, Mass., Agnes Eugenie Nickerson, eldest daughter of Colonel Albert Nickerson. Issue: Louisa Winslow Cogswell, b. at "Riverdale," Dedham, Mass., August 20, 1896; Mary Van Rensselaer Cogswell, b. at Southampton, Long Island, June 16, 1903.

2. Cornelia Georgina (Nina) Van Rensselaer, b. at 7 Waverly Place, New York, November 3, 1840. M., March 27, 1862, in Newport, R. I., David Olyphant Vail of Shanghai, China (b. 1834, d. April 7, 1865); resides in New York City. Issue:

i. Anna Murray Vail, b. at 60 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York, January 7, 1863; librarian of the botanical department of Columbia University, Bronx Botanic Gardens; author of several monographs on botanical subjects.

ii. Cornelia Van Rensselaer Vail, b. at 60 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York, January 23, 1865. M., February 23, 1896, Henry Golden Dearth of Providence, R. I., and Montreuil-sur-mer, Pas de Calais, France; associate-member of the National Academy of Design and member of the Society of American Artists. Issue: Cornelia Van Rensselaer Dearth, b. in Paris, France, June 11, 1896.

3. Cullen Van Rensselaer, b. at 7 Waverly Place, New York, February 28, 1843, d. April 12, 1844.

4. *Schuyler Van Rensselaer*; of whom below.

5. James Van Rensselaer, b. at 42 Clinton Place, New York, December 6, 1847, d. June 18, 1848.

6. Susan de Lancey Cullen Van Rensselaer, b. at Jamaica, Long Island, June 24, 1851; educated at Mrs. Porter's, Farmington, Conn., and in Germany and France. M., April 17, 1893, Alan Hartwell Strong of New Brunswick, N. J., son of Hon. Woodbridge Strong (now judge of the Middlesex, N. J., county court) and Harriet A. (Hartwell) Strong, and a descendant of Elder John Strong, who settled in Dorchester, Mass., in 1630. Alan Hartwell Strong was graduated from Rutgers College in 1874, admitted to the bar, and is one of the representative and able men of his profession in the state of New Jersey, having served as president of the state bar association. Mr. and Mrs. Strong reside in New Brunswick. Mrs. Strong has devoted much study to genealogical and historical subjects, and in these departments is the author of several published contributions, marked by ability and extensive information. To her the editor of this work is indebted for valuable assistance and suggestions, especially in relation to the Van Rensselaer and connecting families. No issue. Daughter by adop-

tion, Sylvia de Lancey Van Rensselaer Strong, b. at New Brunswick, N. J., October 11, 1904.

VIII THE VAN RENSSELAER

Line of General Robert Van Rensselaer (V.)

SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER, the only son of John Cullen and Cornelia Josepha (Codwise) Van Rensselaer who survived to maturity, was born at 42 Clinton Place, New York City, July 6, 1845. He received his early education under the tuition of Rev. C. W. Everest of Hamden, Conn., and Professor Elie Charlier of New York City, and was prepared for college by Rev. T. Thayer of Newport, R. I. In the summer of 1862 he enlisted as a private in the Newport Company of the Rhode Island Regiment, was promoted to sergeant, and was offered a commission on the staff of General Burnside. At the expiration of the four months for which he had volunteered he entered Harvard University, and was there graduated in 1867. Continuing his studies in the department of mining engineering, he was graduated from the Columbia School of Mines in 1868 and from the Mining Academy of Freiburg, Saxony, Germany, in 1871.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Van Rensselaer engaged actively in his profession. He was appointed in 1877 to the position of chief engineering inspector of steel rails for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, continuing as such for five years, and then resigned to take up his professional practice, which he pursued from that time until his death.

In his personality Mr. Van Rensselaer was one of the worthiest representatives of his family—a man of the truest nobility of character, and equally esteemed and admired for elevation of mind and generosity of heart. In a memorial of him, published by his college class, he is thus characterized:

"His life has been a strenuous and domestic one, devoted wholly to work and to his family; and his death was well in keeping with it. Although he had many friends, only the members of the household can have appreciated him for all he was. His greatest force and charm lay in the serenity and unselfishness of his private character; and his greatest talent was the gift of common sense—the power to judge quickly, wisely, and wholly without prejudice or fantasy any practical question which might come up. So happy and contented a disposition, so tender and self-sacrificing a spirit, and so sure and well-balanced a judgment in the ordinary affairs of life as he possessed could only be understood in his home; and his richest influence was felt by those whose lives were closely bound up with his own. . . . One of his most remarkable qualities, considering his birth and nurture and personal tastes, was the intense sympathy he felt for the working classes. Labor, not as a means towards the mere making of money, but in itself, he esteemed in a characteristically American way; and his respect for working men in general was extended to individuals, and was quickly felt by all of humbler birth with whom he came in contact. . . . The bent of his mind was primarily scientific and practical; but he had a keen feeling for literature and for music, and an infinite respect for all forms of art."

Died at New Brunswick, N. J., March 5, 1884.

Married, in Dresden, Saxony, April 14, 1873, Mariana Alley Griswold, eldest daughter of George Griswold of New York.

Issue:

1. George Griswold Van Rensselaer, b. in New Brunswick, N. J., February 11, 1875. After preparatory studies in Dresden and New York he entered Harvard University, 1892; d. at Colorado Springs, Col., April 22, 1894. A relative communicates the following: "Short though his life was, it had fulfilled its early promise, and the fine and engaging qualities of his nature are held in enduring remembrance by many."

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

(*Conclusion.*)

OUR fourth witness is John N. Miller, who was employed by Spaulding and Lake at Conneaut and boarded at the former's home. Miller says: "He (Spaulding) had written two or three books or pamphlets on different subjects, but that which more particularly drew my attention was the one which he called the 'Manuscript Found.' From this he would frequently read some humorous passages to the company present. It purported to be the history of the first settlement of America before discovered by Columbus. He brought them off from Jerusalem under their leaders, detailing their travels by land and water, their manners, customs, laws, wars, etc. He said that he designed it as a historical novel, and that in after years it would be believed by many people as much as the history of England. He soon after failed in business, and told me he should retire from the din of his creditors, finish his book, and have it published, which would enable him to pay his debts and support his family. He soon after removed to Pittsburg, as I understood. I have recently examined the Book of Mormon, and find in it the writings of Solomon Spaulding from beginning to end, but mixed up with Scripture and other religious matters which I did not meet with in the 'Manuscript Found.' Many of the passages in the Mormon book are verbatim from Spaulding, and others in part. The names of *Nephi*, *Lehi*, *Moroni*, and, in fact, all the principal names are brought fresh to my recollection by the

Golden Bible. When Spaulding divested his history of its fabulous names by a verbal explanation, he landed his people near the Straits of Darien, which I am very confident he called Zarahemla; they were marched about that country for a length of time in which wars and great bloodshed ensued. He brought them across North America in a north-east direction.

“JOHN N. MILLER.”

Our fifth witness is Aaron Wright, who says: “I first became acquainted with Solomon Spaulding in 1808 or 1809, when he commenced building a forge on Conneaut Creek. When at his house one day, he showed and read to me a history he was writing of the lost tribes of Israel, purporting that they were the first settlers of America, and that the Indians were their descendants. Upon this subject we had frequent conversations. He traced their journey from Jerusalem to America as it is given in the Book of Mormon, excepting the religious matter. The historical part of the Book of Mormon I know to be the same as I read and heard read from the writings of Spaulding more than twenty years ago; the names are especially the same, without any alteration. He told me his object was to account for all the fortifications, etc., to be found in this country, and said that in time it would be fully believed by all except learned men and historians. I once anticipated reading his writings in print, but little expected to see them in a new Bible. Spaulding *had many other manuscripts* which I expect to see when Smith translates his other plate. In conclusion I will observe that the names of, and most of the historical part of the Book of Mormon, were as familiar to me before I read it as most modern history. If it is not Spaulding’s writing, it is the same as he wrote; and if Smith was inspired, I think it was by the same spirit that Spaulding was, which he confessed to be the love of money.

“AARON WRIGHT.”

Our sixth witness is Oliver Smith, who testifies: "When Solomon Spaulding first came to this place (Conneaut), he purchased a tract of land, surveyed it out, and commenced selling it. While engaged in this business he boarded at my house, in all nearly six months. All his leisure hours were occupied in writing a historical novel founded upon the first settlers of this country. He said he intended to trace their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till their arrival in America, and give an account of their arts, sciences, civilization, wars and contentions. In this way he would give a satisfactory account of all the old mounds so common to this country. During the time he was at my house I read and heard read one hundred pages or more. Nephi and Lehi were by him represented as leading characters when they first started for America. Their main object was to escape the judgments which they supposed were coming upon the old world. But no religious matter was introduced, as I now recollect. . . . When I heard the historical part of it related, I at once said it was the writings of Solomon Spaulding. Soon after I obtained the book, and on reading it, found much of it the same as Spaulding had written more than twenty years before.

"OLIVER SMITH."

Our seventh witness, Nahum Howard, avers this: "I first became acquainted with Solomon Spaulding in December, 1810. After that time I frequently saw him at his house, and also at my house. I once, in conversation with him, expressed a surprise at not having any account of the inhabitants once in this country, who erected the old forts, mounds, etc. He then told me that he was writing a history of that race of people, and afterwards frequently showed me his writings, which I read. I have lately read the Book of Mormon, and believe it to be the same as Spaulding wrote, except the religious part. He told me that he intended to get his writings published in Pittsburg,

and he thought that in one century from that time it would be believed as much as any other history.

“NAHUM HOWARD.”

Our eighth witness is Artemas Cunningham, whose evidence reads thus: “In the month of October, 1811, I went from the township of Madison to Conneaut, for the purpose of securing a debt due me from Solomon Spaulding. I tarried with him nearly two days for the purpose of accomplishing my object, which I was finally unable to do. I found him destitute of the means of paying his debts. His only hope of ever paying his debts appeared to be upon the sale of a book which he had been writing. He endeavored to convince me from the nature and character of the work that it would meet with a ready sale. Before showing me his manuscripts, he went into a verbal relation of its outlines, saying that it was a fabulous or romantic history of the first settlement of this country, and as it purported to have been a record found buried in the earth, or in a cave, he had adopted the ancient or scripture style of writing. He then presented his manuscripts, when we sat down and spent a good share of the night in reading them and conversing upon them. I well remember the name of Nephi, which appeared to be the principal hero of the story. The frequent repetition of the phrase ‘I, Nephi,’ I recollect as distinctly as though it was but yesterday, although the general features of the story have passed from my memory through the lapse of twenty-two years. He attempted to account for the numerous antiquities which are found upon this continent, and remarked that after this generation had passed away, his account of the first inhabitants of America would be considered as authentic as any other history. The Mormon Bible I have partially examined and am fully of the opinion that Solomon Spaulding had written its outlines before he left Conneaut.”¹⁵¹

After the publication of the foregoing evidence (1834) "Apostle" Orson Hyde went to Conneaut, evidently to secure impeaching or contradicting testimony. He received so little comfort that not even a public mention of the trip was made by him until 1841, while he was in London.¹⁵²

Our ninth witness upon the facts showing the plagiarism of the Book of Mormon from the Spaulding manuscript is Mr. Joseph Miller. He was intimately acquainted with Solomon Spaulding during all of the time while the latter resided at Amity, Pa., (1814-16).¹⁵³ Mr. Miller's testimony is preserved in the *Pittsburg Telegraph* of February 6, 1879, from which the following is pertinent:

"On hearing read the account from the book (of Mormon) of the battle between the Amlicites and the Nephites (Book of Alma, Chapter 1—Chapter 3, Edition of '88—), in which the soldiers of one army had placed a red mark on their foreheads to distinguish them from their enemies, it seems to reproduce in my mind, not only the narration, but the very words, as they had been impressed upon my mind by the reading of Spaulding's manuscript."

Our tenth witness is Redick McKee, whose evidence upon another point we have already used. Under date of Washington, D. C., April 14, 1869, published in the *Washington (Pa.) Reporter* for April 21, 1869, he says:

"In the fall of 1814 I arrived in the village of 'Good Will,' and for eighteen or twenty months sold goods in the store previously occupied by Mr. Thos. Brice. It was on Main Street, a few doors west of Spaulding's Tavern, where I was a boarder. With both Mr. Solomon Spaulding and his wife I was quite intimately acquainted. I recollect quite well Mr. Spaulding spending much time in writing (on sheets of paper torn out of an old book) what purported to be a veritable history of the nations or tribes who inhabited Canaan. He called it 'Lost History Found,' 'Lost Manuscript,' or some such name, not disguising that it was wholly a work of the imagination, written to amuse himself and without any immediate view to publication. I was struck with the minuteness of his details and the apparent truthfulness and sincerity of the author. I have an indistinct recollection of the passage referred to by Mr. Miller about the Amlicites making a cross with red paint on their foreheads to distinguish them from enemies in the confusion of battle."

The eleventh witness is the Rev. Abner Jackson, who, when but a boy and confned with a lame knee, heard Solo-

mon Spaulding read to his father much of the former's story, and also heard him give an outline of the whole. Mr. Jackson, under date of December 20, 1880, made the following statement to the Washington County (Pa.) *Reporter* of January 7, 1881:¹⁵⁴

"Spaulding frequently read his manuscript to the neighbors and amused them as he progressed with the work. He wrote it in Bible style. 'And it came to pass' occurred so often that some called him 'Old Come-to-pass.' The Book of Mormon follows the romance too closely to be a stranger. In both, many persons appear having the same name, as Moroni, Mormon, Nephites, Laman, Lamanites, Nephi, and others. Here we are presented with romance second called the Book of Mormon, telling the same story of the same people, traveling from the same plain, in the same way, having the same difficulties and destination, with the same wars, same battles and same results, with thousands upon thousands slain. Then see the Mormon account of the last battle at Cumorah, where all the righteous were slain. How much this resembles the closing scene in the 'Manuscript Found.' The most singular part of the whole matter is that it follows the romance so closely, with this difference: The first claims to be a romance, the second claims to be a revelation of God, a new Bible. When it was brought to Conneaut and read there in public, old Squire Wright heard it and exclaimed, 'Old-Come-to-pass has come to life again.' Here was the place where Spaulding wrote and read his manuscript to the neighbors for their amusement, and Squire Wright had often heard him read from his romance. This was in 1832, sixteen years after Spaulding's death. This Squire Wright lived on a little farm just outside of the little village. I was acquainted with him for twenty-five years. I lived on his farm when I was a boy and attended school in his village. I am particular to notice these things to show that I had an opportunity of knowing what I am writing about."

Squire Wright, referred to in Mr. Jackson's statement, is the same Aaron Wright who was our fifth witness upon the question of identity.

Last, but not least, we introduce John C. Bennett. He says he joined the Mormons in order to enable himself to expose their iniquity. He was quartermaster-general of Illinois, the mayor of Nauvoo, a master in chancery for Hancock County, Ill., appointed by then Judge Stephen A. Douglas, a trustee for the "University of the City of Nauvoo," the recipient of special mention in revelation purporting to come direct from God, as well as innumerable

encomiums from church leaders and the church organ. The Mormon people have called Bennett more kinds of a liar, it seems to me, than any man was ever called before. When Mormons are asked just what statement of Bennett's warrants the charge, they usually confess they never read his book. In the light of subsequent history and later church admissions, there is not one of Bennett's innumerable charges of almost unbelievable iniquity which I cannot demonstrate to be substantially true as to the character of the iniquity, if not the special manifestation of it, and do so wholly from the evidence of Mormon church publications. I, therefore, believe what Bennett says, and here quote so much of his testimony as relates to the origin of the Book of Mormon. He says:

"I will remark here in confirmation of the above [he having quoted a small part of the statements herein last above quoted] that the Book of Mormon was originally written by the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, A. M., as a romance and entitled the 'Manuscript Found,' and placed by him in the printing office of Paterson and Lambdin, in the city of Pittsburg, from whence it was taken by a *conspicuous Mormon divine* and remodeled by adding the religious portion, placed by him in Smith's possession, and then published to the world as the testimony exemplifies. This I have from the confederation, and of its perfect correctness there is not the shadow of a doubt. There never were any plates of the Book of Mormon excepting what were seen by the spiritual and not the natural eyes of the witnesses. The story of the plates is all chimerical."

It will be observed Bennett does not name Rigdon or Pratt in his statement. The reason is apparent from reading certain correspondence published in the book from which it appears that at the same time of writing he entertained a reasonable hope that Sidney Rigdon and the Pratts would leave the church and join him in his anti-Mormon crusade, and he probably did not wish to unduly embarrass his supposed confederates, who were still apparently within the fold.

For the Love of Gold, Not God.

With the exception of establishing the motive, our case

is now complete. The natural inference, of course, is that the greed for gain furnished the dynamics of the scheme, but we must not leave even this fact without direct evidence. Mormons point to the violent death of Smith as a martyrdom, and assume this a sufficient answer to the charge of selfishness. A man who, as was the case with Smith, dies with a six-shooter in his own hand, firing it at his assailants,¹⁵⁶ is in a novel pose for a martyr, and yet we may admit that Smith would not from selfish ends have chosen a career of imposture had he in the beginning been able to foresee his ignominious end.

Soon after Rigdon's visit to Smith and the reception of the revelation making Kirtland the gathering place of the "Saints," Smith's family, together with their followers, moved to Ohio. Revelations now came thick and fast, and of such a character as to demonstrate that the love of gold, and not God, was the inducing cause of their existence. I quote a few pertinent samples:

"Whoso receiveth you receiveth me, and the same will *feed* you and *clothe* you and *give* you money—and he who doeth not these things is not my disciple." ¹⁵⁷

"It is wisdom in me that my servant Martin Harris should be an example unto the church in *laying his money before the bishop* of the church. And also this is a law unto every man that cometh unto this land to receive an inheritance, and he shall do with this money according as the law directs."¹⁵⁸

"And let all the *monies which can be spared, it matterth not* unto me whether it be little or much, be sent up unto the land of Zion unto those I have appointed to receive it."¹⁵⁹

"And let all those who have not families, who receive *monies*, send it up unto the Bishop of Zion."¹⁶⁰

"Behold, this is my will obtaining moneys even as I have directed."¹⁶¹

"Impart a portion of thy property; yea, even part of thy lands, and *all* save the support of thy family."¹⁶²

"Verily thus saith the Lord, I *require all their surplus property* to be put into the hands of the bishop of my church of Zion."¹⁶³

"And in temporal labor thou (Smith, the athlete,) shalt not give strength, for this is not thy calling."¹⁶⁴

"*They shall support thee* and I will bless them both spiritually and temporally."¹⁶⁵

"If ye desire the mysteries of the kingdom, *provide for Him* (Smith) *food and raiment* and whatsoever he needeth to accomplish the work."¹⁶⁶

"He who *feeds* you, or *clothes* you, or gives you *money* shall in no wise lose his reward."¹⁶⁷

"He that *sendeth up treasures* unto the land of Zion shall receive an inheritance in this world."¹⁶⁸

"I command that thou shall not covet thine own property."¹⁶⁹

"Your money or your damnation" has about as much ethical sanction as the less pretentious demand of the high-wayman who says, "Your money or your life." But we have not yet reached the end. The "Prophet's" father, who, prior to the discovery of the alleged divine mission of his son, eked out only a scanty living as a dispenser of cake and root beer¹⁷⁰, now became the dispenser of patriarchial blessings at ten dollars per week and expenses,¹⁷¹ and later at three dollars per bless.¹⁷²

The Prophet's brothers and friends received a gift of real estate by revelation,¹⁷³ and another brother of the Prophet was retained in a holy office, though confessedly concealing his property to cheat his creditors.¹⁷⁴

These are a part and by no means all of the evidence tending to establish that a desire for money was the inspiring cause of every act of the Mormon Prophet, the very divinity that moulded his thoughts and revelations, and brought into being Mormon's books. Before becoming a Prophet, Joseph Smith's earning capacity as a peep-stone money digger was \$14 per month,¹⁷⁵ Soon after becoming a Prophet he became president of a bank.¹⁷⁶ In 1842 the Prophet (together with his brother Hyrum and Sidney Rigdon) took advantage of the bankruptcy law to avoid creditors, whose claims amounted to one hundred thousand dollars.¹⁷⁷ A few years later the Prophet was killed, he being at the time the richest man in Nauvoo.

Through the whole story of their lives, if we may believe their alleged revelations to come from on high, God manifests in the conspirators' behalf a greed for earthly prosperity which would disgrace any decent man who should

attempt to gratify it at the expense of a like number of poverty-stricken, ignorant unfortunates.

It is perhaps a work of supererogation, yet I cannot readily resist calling attention to the human side of the conspirators, when they came to fall out, over the division of the spoils. Many, even Brigham Young included, suspected Joseph Smith of misappropriating church money.¹⁷⁸ Brigham, however, had his suspicions allayed, for the Lord actually put money into his trunk.¹⁷⁹ This would, of course, be very convincing evidence that a man might have much money without misappropriating anything, even months later fail with \$150,000 of liabilities and practically though a bank established by revelation,¹⁸⁰ should a few no assets, and after only eight months of business.¹⁸¹

At one time Cowdery, a witness to the divinity of the Book of Mormon, invited suspicion that he was converting more than his share of the spoils, and the following revelation was the result:

"It is not wisdom in me that he (Cowdery) should be entrusted with the commandments, and the moneys which he shall carry unto the land of Zion, *except one go with him who will be true and faithful.*"¹⁸²

The most forceful incident of this sort, however, occurred as the result of jealousy between Rigdon and Smith, which manifests itself in scores of ways all through their lives. When Rigdon on his visit to the Prophet in New York desires to be proclaimed a translator of remaining plates given by the angel to Smith, and as having the same power as Joseph Smith, the former's ambitions are quietly squelched by a revelation from God to Rigdon, saying: "It is not expedient in me that ye should translate any more until ye shall go to Ohio,"¹⁸³ but the rest of the plates never were translated.¹⁸⁴

When Cowdery and perhaps Rigdon importune their partner in fraud to be elevated to the prophetic office, Smith resists with a revelation in which God is made to say: "No one shall be appointed to receive commandments and reve-

lations in this church, excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jun."185 Similar revelations seem to have been necessary more than once.186

Finally the pressure became too hard to bear, and a revelation was procured in which God, in contradiction of his former declarations, one of which is above quoted, appoints Sidney Rigdon "to receive the oracles for the whole church."187 And not neglecting the equal rights of the "Prophet's" brother, God declares: "I appoint unto him (Hyrum Smith) that he may be a prophet, and a seer, and a revelator unto my church, as well as my servant Joseph."188 Both men were accordingly "ordained" each a "prophet, seer, and revelator."189 Thus are even the Gods made to eat their own words at the behest of the conspirators, who quarrel in their division of the glory and the gold.

One more incident of this sort will suffice. In February, 1831, Smith received the first of several revelations directing the brethren to provide him a home. In part it reads as follows:

"It is mete that my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., should have a house built in which to live and translate. And again, it is mete that my servant Sidney Rigdon shall live as seemeth him good, inasmuch as he keepeth my commandments."190

Of course, living "as seemeth him good" was to Sidney Rigdon hardly a fair equivalent for a house and lot. Had he not made Smith a "prophet, seer, and revelator," and could he not also unmake him? Why, then, should Sidney Rigdon submit to any unfair division of the spoils of the prophetic office? He didn't.

The above revelation was received while Rigdon was absent from Kirtland. Upon his return he went to the meeting-house where an expectant throng awaited him in anticipation of one of his entrancing sermons, but Rigdon failed to go to the speaker's stand, and instead paced back

and forth through the house. The "Prophet Joseph" being absent from Kirtland, Father Smith requested Rigdon to speak. In a tone of excitement Rigdon replied (and who will say it was not spoken as by one having authority?): "The keys of the Kingdom are rent from the church, and there shall be no prayer put up in this house this day." "Oh, no; I hope not," gasped Father Smith. "I tell you they are," rejoined "Elder Rigdon." The brethren stared and turned pale, and the sisters in anguish cried aloud for relief. "I tell you again," said Sidney, with much feeling, "the keys of the Kingdom are taken from you, and you never will have them again *until you build me a new house.*"

Amid tumultuous excitement on the part of the sisters, "Brother Hyrum" left the meeting to bring "Joseph the Prophet," who was in a neighboring settlement. On their return next day the "brethren" and "sisters" were gathered in anticipation of important happenings. Joseph mounted the rostrum and informed the assembly that they were laboring under a great mistake; that the church had not transgressed. Speaking of the lost keys, he said: "I myself hold the keys of this last dispensation, and will forever hold them, both in time and in eternity; so set your hearts at rest upon that point; all is right."

I continue to quote from an account written by the "Prophet's" mother, relating just what they desire the world to believe happened immediately after:

"He (Joseph Smith) then went on and preached a comforting discourse, after which he appointed a council to sit the next day, by which Sidney Rigdon was tried for *having lied in the name of the Lord*. In this council Joseph told him he must suffer for what he had done; that he would be delivered over to the buffetings of Satan, who would handle him as one man handleth another; that the less priesthood he had the better it would be for him, and that it would be well for him to give up his license. This counsel Sidney

complied with, yet he had to suffer for his folly, for, according to his own account, he was dragged out of bed by the devil three times in one night, by the heels." Mother Lucy Smith doubtfully adds: "Whether this be true or not, one thing is certain. His contrition of soul was as great as a man could well live through."¹⁹¹ The last sentence shows beyond dispute that Mother Lucy had her doubts about this silly story she has just narrated, and, of course, we are entitled to similar doubts.

What really did happen is made very plain by subsequent occurrences. Smith and Rigdon got together, patched up their differences by an agreement that Rigdon should have a house if he would restore the "keys" to the last dispensation, and desist from executing his threats to smash the "Kingdom," and for the sake of its wholesome influence upon others he must play penitent and humble. As evidence of this conclusion we point to the story of this transaction as quoted above from Mother Lucy's life of the "Prophet," and the two following sections of a revelation announced by Smith under date of August, 1831:

"Behold, verily I say unto you, I the Lord am not pleased with my servant Sidney Rigdon. He exalted himself in his heart and received not my counsel, but grieved the Spirit." "Let my servants Joseph Smith, Jun., and Sidney Rigdon seek them a house as they are taught through prayer by the Spirit."¹⁹²

It is needless to add they each received a house, and both stood for many years, and perhaps even to this day, side by side, and both built according to the same plans.¹⁹³

Concluding Comment.

The case, so far as the production of evidence is concerned, must now be considered closed. The actors in this fraud are all dead, and upon the precise question here discussed no new evidence is likely to be discovered. All the evidence directly affecting either side of the question has been introduced and reviewed.

When, as here, we are investigating a case dependent upon circumstantial evidence, we must judge the evidence as a whole. No one circumstance out of many connected ones ever established the ultimate fact. The converse of this proposition is equally true. You cannot show the insufficiency of the evidence by demonstrating that any one circumstance, if it stood alone, would be equally consistent with some other theory than the one in support of which it is cited. The evidentiary circumstances must be viewed as a whole, each in the light of its relation to all the rest. Thus viewed, the circumstantial evidence is strong just in proportion as the circumstances related to, and consistent with, the theory advocated are numerous. In the argument under consideration the circumstantial facts are so numerous, and gathered from so many disconnected sources, corroborated by so many admissions from the accused conspirators and their defenders, that it is utterly impossible to believe them all to have come into being as a mere matter of accidental concomitance.

Let us put the defenders of the divinity of Mormonism to a test on this matter by inviting them to make an equally good case of circumstantial evidence based upon established fact, all tending to show some other human origin for the Book of Mormon than that here advocated. Inability to do so means that such an array of concurring facts cannot be duplicated in support of any other theory than the one here advocated. If, as must now be admitted, the concurrence of so very many facts can best be explained by the conclusions here contended for, then that is a more believable, a more rational conviction than one which of necessity requires belief in an assumed and unprovable miracle. That explanation which takes the least for granted is always the one adopted by the sanest person. Bearing in mind these truths, let us briefly review a portion of the most salient features of the argument.

From the uncontradicted evidence of witnesses, practic-

ally all of whom are disinterested and who in most circumstances of great evidentiary weight are corroborated by authorized church publications, we have established beyond cavil, and I am sure to the satisfaction of all thinking minds untainted by mysticism, and whose vision is unobscured, that the following are thoroughly established facts:

Solomon Spaulding, between 1812 and 1816, outlined and then re-wrote a novel, attempting therein to account for the American Indian by Israelitish origin. The first outline of this story, now at Oberlin College, had no direct connection with the Book of Mormon, and was never claimed to be connected with it, and such connection was expressly disclaimed as early as 1834. The rewritten story, entitled "Manuscript Found," was by Spaulding twice left with a publisher, whence it was stolen under circumstances which then led Spaulding to suspect Sidney Rigdon, who long after was the first conspicuous convert of Mormonism; that Rigdon, through his great intimacy with the publishers' employees, had opportunity to steal it, and that after Spaulding's death, and years before the advent of Mormonism, Rigdon had in his possession such a manuscript and exhibited it, with the statement that it was Spaulding's. Through Parley P. Pratt, Rigdon and Smith were brought into relation, and the latter made the Prophet of the "Dispensation of the Fullness of Times," the discoverer, translator, and, according to his own designation, the "Author and Proprietor"¹⁹⁴ of the Book of Mormon. This connection is established by the most convincing circumstantial evidence, taken wholly from authorized Mormon publications; it is shown that Rigdon foreknew the coming and in a general way the contents of the Book of Mormon; that both Rigdon and Pratt were, according to some of their contradictory accounts, converted to Mormonism with such miraculous suddenness and without substantial investigation that when this, coupled with the contradictory accounts of these important events and their attempts at concealing

the suddenness of their conversion, all compel a conviction of their participation in a scheme of religious fraud.

Upon the question of plagiarism, we may profitably add a brief summary of the points of identity between the peculiar features shown to be common to Spaulding's novel and the Book of Mormon. In Spaulding's first outline of the story it pretended to be ancient American history, attempting to explain the origin of part of the aborigines of this continent, all translated from ancient writings found in a stone box. It recounts the wars of extermination of two factions, tells of the collecting of armies and of slaughters which were a physical impossibility to those uncivilized people who were without any modern methods of transporting troops or army supplies. After two revisions, one by Spaulding and a second by Smith, Rigdon & Co., the above general outline still describes equally well the Book of Mormon.

Leaving the first blocking-out of his novel unfinished, Spaulding resolved to change his plot by dating the story farther back and by attempting to imitate the Old Scripture style, so as to make it seem more ancient. Spaulding's determination to date his novel farther back probably suggested changing the roll of parchment which, according to the Oberlin manuscript, was found in a stone box, to golden plates. Some time before 1820 some one pretended to have found a Golden Bible in Canada.¹⁹⁵ If Spaulding, in re-writing the story, did not make the change, this incident may have suggested such a change to Smith and his fellow-frauds.

Spaulding, in his attempt at imitating Bible phraseology, had repeated so ridiculously often the words "it came to pass," that both in Ohio and Pennsylvania the neighbors to whom he read his manuscript nicknamed him "Old Come-to-pass." In the Book of Mormon, though professedly an abridgement, the same phrase is uselessly repeated several thousands times, and a bungling effort at imitating the style of Bible writers is apparent all through it.

Spaulding's existence was contemporaneous with Anti-Masonic riots, and he harbored a sentiment against all secret societies,¹⁹⁶ which has also been carried through into the Book of Mormon.

The uncontradicted and unimpeached evidence of many witnesses is explicit that the historical portions of both the "Manuscript Found" and the "Book of Mormon" are the same, and much of the religious matter interpolated is in the exact phraseology of King James's translation of the Bible. We find also many names of places, persons, and tribes to be identical in the "Manuscript Found" and the Book of Mormon. Some of the names were taken from the Bible, others would be known only to the students of American antiquities, among whom was Spaulding, and still others were unheard of until coined by Spaulding. The names proven to be common to both are Nephi, Lehi, Mormon, Nephites, Lamanites, Laban, Zarahemla and Amlicites.

Add to this the very novel circumstance that in both accounts one of two contending armies placed upon the forehead of its soldiers a red mark that they might distinguish friends from enemies, and the new and characteristic features common to both are too numerous to admit of any explanation except that herein contended for, viz: That the Book of Mormon is a plagiarism from Spaulding's novel, the "Manuscript Found," and is the product of conscious fraud on the part of Sidney Rigdon, Parley Parker Pratt, Joseph Smith, and others, which fraud was prompted wholly by a love of notoriety and money.

NOTES.

151. This ends the evidence taken from Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," Chapter 19.

152. "The Spaulding Story Examined and Exposed," by Page 10.

153. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon," 6.

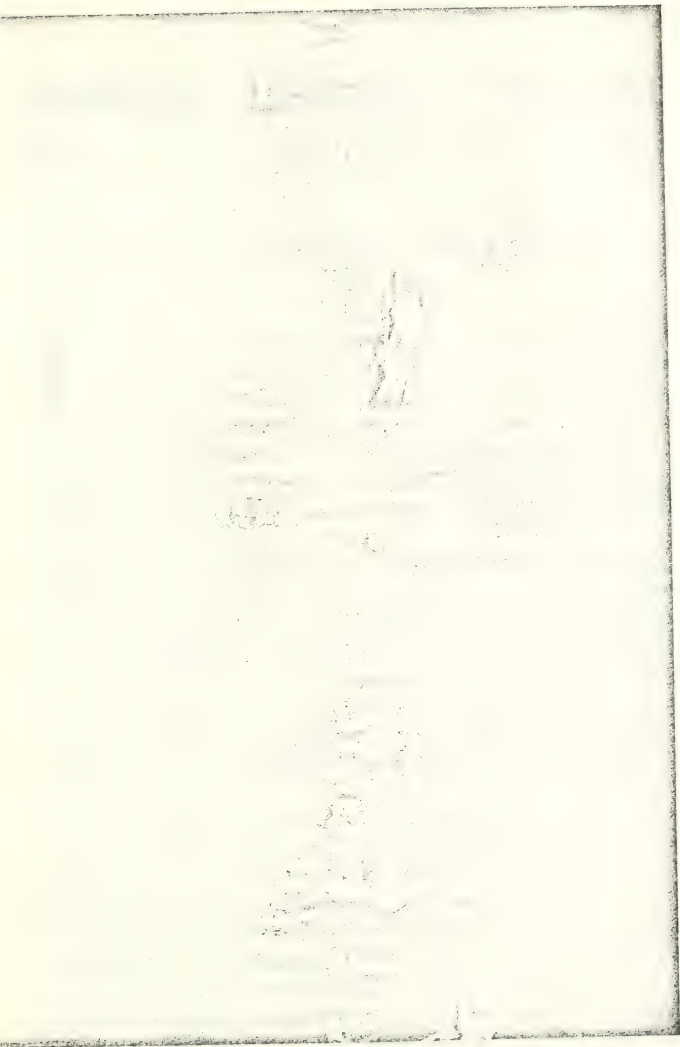
154. See also "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon," 6-7.

155. Bennett's "Mormonism Exposed," 123-4-1842.

156. "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," 443. Bancroft's "History of Utah," 170.

157. Doctrine and Covenants, 84:89.

158. Doctrine and Covenants, 58:35, 36.
159. Doctrine and Covenants, 63:40.
160. Doctrine and Covenants, 84:104.
161. Doctrine and Covenants, 66:45. Supplement 14 *Millennial Star*, 80.
162. Doctrine and Covenants, 10:34.
163. Doctrine and Covenants, 119:1.
164. Doctrine and Covenants, 24:9.
165. Doctrine and Covenants, 24:3.
166. Doctrine and Covenants, 43:13.
167. Doctrine and Covenants, 84:90.
168. Doctrine and Covenants, 63:48.
169. Doctrine and Covenants, 19:26.
170. "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," 12.
171. 15 *Millennial Star*, 308.
172. "Mormon Portraits," 16.
173. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 94.
174. 15 *Millennial Star*, 520.
175. 16 *Millennial Star*, 151.
176. "Gleanings by the Way," 334. Sometimes Smith was cashier and Rigdon President. "Prophet of Palmyra," 135.
177. 19 *Millennial Star*, 343. 20 *Millennial Star*, 106-216-246. "Mormonism and Mormons," 338.
178. *Deseret News*, April 8, 1857, p. 36.
179. 2 *Journal of Discourses*, 128. 7 *Deseret News*, 115.
180. Statement of Warren Parrish, copied in "An Exposure of Mormonism," 10. *Messenger and Advocate*, January 1837, copied in "Prophet of Palmyra," 134. *Deseret News*, December 21, 1864, Vol. 14, p. 94, says "under the direction of the Prophet."
181. Statement of Warren Parrish, copied in "An Exposure of Mormonism," 11.
182. Doctrine and Covenants, 6:91.
183. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 37.
184. 19 *Journal of Discourses*, 38-216-218. "Reminiscences of Joseph the Prophet," 14.
185. Doctrine and Covenants, 28:2.
186. Doctrine and Covenants, 43:8.
187. Doctrine and Covenants, 124:126.
188. Doctrine and Covenants, 124:94. 18 *Millennial Star*, 360.
189. 20 *Millennial Star*, 550 as to Rigdon, and p. 373 as to Hyrum Smith. It is now claimed that Smith had conferred upon all the Apostles "all the Power, Priesthood, and Authority ever conferred upon himself." 1 *Journal of Discourses*, 206. 19 *Journal of Discourses*, 124. See also *Melchisadic and Aronic Herald*, Feb. 1850. 5 *Millennial Star*, 104, 68 Semi-Annual Conference, 70.
190. Doctrine and Covenants, 41, 7 and 8.
191. Mother Lucy's life of "Joseph Smith the Prophet," 195 and 196. As to Rigdon's declaration that the keys were gone, see also 14 *Deseret News*, 91, December 21, 1864. As to Rigdon's being dragged out of bed, see also History of the Mormons, 53.
192. Doctrine and Covenants, 63:55 and 65.
193. "Gleanings by the Way," 332.
194. Smith designates himself as the "Author and Proprietor" of God's word, in the Title Page of the Book of Mormon, also in the testimony of the witnesses as it appears in the first edition, since which time both have been altered. See also *Evening and Morning Star*, 117.
195. Braden-Kelly Debate, 55.
196. "Howe's Mormonism Unveiled," 288.



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1776.

[From the painting by John Trumbull.]

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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

BY MRS. C. F. M'LEAN

LIKE the Polar Star, which for centuries has been the guide to sailors over the vast ocean to certain harbor and yet remains the unvarying beacon for all who go down to the sea in ships, so has been and so will remain the Declaration of Independence to all those who would guide the ship of State into deep waters where it may ride safe from wind and wave.

There is nothing flattering to the vanity of man in giving justice to his fellow man: that is why it comes slowly and last in the political and social world. On the other hand, to grant privileges, concessions, and benefits is distinctly flattering to man's pride: therefore those advances which we in our latter age regard as only partial justice were given in the name of privileges, concessions, and benefits.

The more one reads about the political injustice suffered by the English colonies of North America in silence and even in exagerrated loyalty to the English crown, the more the wonder grows that they were so long in coming to the point of asserting their rights as Englishmen. The restrictions on trade and commerce, and manufactures, even before those acts of parliament which finally drew forth remonstrances, had always been little short of robbery; yet the people of the various colonies had submitted to them without a murmur of resistance. The education of the people of New England in their town meetings and assemblies

however, had so familiarized them with the laws and few privileges under which they were living and with their constitutional rights, as Englishmen, conferred through their charters, that when those were violated, they knew how to secure legally their rights as colonists and Englishmen.

General Gage wrote to England, when, after his entry into Boston, the people behaved admirably, yet kept his troops from being quartered in private houses till the barracks were full, that it was disgusting to be sent to a community where every man was a lawyer.

In that other central point of the political disturbance preceding the first meeting of the continental congress—Virginia—a system of preparatory education had also been equipping leaders for the great coming event. The house of burgesses of Virginia, a miniature parliament to the lieutenant governor, who was the accredited plenipotentiary of the crown, was also training those who later represented the Old Dominion in the continental congress. The great-grandfather of Thomas Jefferson had been a member of the legislature of Virginia of 1619, which put an end to the period of anarchy and which was the first legislative body in America. It is said that from that legislature came forth every influence for good in American history. It is not necessary to go over the various acts of parliament, taxing the colonies, repealing their acts and then, by the retention of one single tax, still claiming the right of taxation, which the colonies denied.

Massachusetts claimed that in 1770, in her assembly it was first suggested that a committee be appointed to correspond with the legislative bodies in the other colonies, in order that all might be informed as to the acts of parliament, inimical to the welfare of the colonies. Of that committee and its work there was little known, or it had been forgotten, when Jefferson, through his brother-in-law, Dabney Carr, introduced into the house of burgesses of Virginia a resolution forming a committee of correspondence,

and the idea was then clearly expressed by Jefferson that such a correspondence would undoubtedly lead to a congress of delegates of all the colonies, so that Jefferson, with his wonderfully trained intellect and far seeing judgment, was the first to grasp the full import of rapidly moving political events.

The correspondence between the various representative bodies of the colonies had been carried on during a period which, full of increasing stirring events, had brought about the most cordial relations, when the Boston Port Bill called forth from all the colonies resolutions sustaining Massachusetts and sympathizing with the people of Boston, unjustly deprived of their means of existence. In addition these assemblies sent respectful remonstrances to the home government. They also suggested that the people of the colony represented should show their sympathy for the sufferers of Massachusetts Bay by substantial contributions. During the next year contributions poured into Boston from every colony. English historians of the events preceding the Revolutionary war, and of the war itself now generally declare that the majority of the people of England had no sympathy with the war which the government of England, —or rather the king,—waged against the colonies. Officers threw up their commissions and in many places the people met and protesting that the American colonists were but contending for the right of all Englishmen, petitioned parliament to make head against the suicidal policy of the king. There were certainly many in the mother country who did sympathize with all the acts of the colonists, for among the contributions acknowledged by the people of Boston during the closing of their port, was one hundred pounds from England. Just as there was in England a party opposed to war in the Transvaal, including the late great chief justice, and the eminent writer William T. Stead, so from the days of Magna Charta down through John Hampden to the present time, there have always been

Englishmen who have preferred that England be right rather than rich and powerful.

As Jefferson had predicted, the committees of correspondence led to the calling of a general congress and the first met in 1774. It is of great interest and significance that a special atmosphere, a peculiar environment, and a happy heredity seem to have united in making the representatives of the different colonies sent to this first Continental Congress the most remarkable body of men that had ever been brought together.

The conditions of life in New England and the middle states not only caused the sending to the congress of able and trained scholars, but of men who, having been brought into close and irritative business contact with all the unjust restrictions and impediments to trade and manufacture imposed upon the colonies, were peculiarly apt in grasping the import of each succeeding restriction in a clear and decisive way. From the South generally, and from Virginia in particular, came a group of learned and scholarly thinkers, who had been trained under most happy conditions. Every system, political and social, founded on one side on rights, and the other upon obligations, is always at its best in its early stages. The first centuries of the feudal system were the best, and presented during a long period,—when obligations were not forgotten and rights not too rigidly enforced,—none of those revolting features which preceded its overthrow. Such was the case at the beginning, and always in some agricultural communities, of African slavery in America. In the days of Jefferson and Madison the patriarchal character of slavery was at its best, and of the leisure resulting to slave owners from such a system, some took advantage and became always students, always scholars. Jefferson, Madison, the Lees and the Randolphs of Virginia all desired, and attempted often to have slavery abolished: and among their official statements of the grievances of the colonies they invariably put

that of being forced by the king to endure the slave trade. These facts are ample evidence that they arrived at their conclusions and beliefs from a pure sense of justice and far seeing wisdom as to the future conditions resulting from such a system. However, in their day, there was no unpleasant feature in slavery, and these students of principles, these readers of the great ideas of others, received their influence in minds that had expanded amid surroundings in which there was nothing to unbalance the judgment or awaken morbid feelings. These scholars of Virginia were linguists and students of the events and the new thoughts of the world. They knew the constitutional history of England and the constitutional rights of Englishmen from Magna Charta down to the latest act of parliament. Nothing that took place on the other side of the world escaped their knowledge or discussion. It is written in the life of Jefferson that the last royal lieutenant governor of Virginia—Francis Fauquier—(the real governor used to live in England and Virginia never saw but one)—taught the rich planters how to lose their money at high play, but also that he filled the libraries of Virginia with the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, d'Alembert, Diderot, and of those other writers grouped under the name of the philosophers and encyclopedists to the eighteenth century. From about 1750 to a few years after our Revolution date the works of these writers were published. The "Social Contract" and "Emile" of Jean Jaques Rousseau in 1762: Voltaire's most important political works about the same period. The three best educated men in Virginia during Fauquier's time were Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and George Wythe, all subsequently delegates to congress. Therefore, while the acts of parliament and the resulting discussions and effects on the colonies were being considered and talked over by Madison, the Lees, Patrick Henry, Jefferson and others from their point of view as Englishmen living under the English Constitution, there was also

presented to their minds the distinctions and beliefs on the rights of man as man, given by the other thinkers of the day, surrounded though these thinkers were by the most harrowing conditions which the despotism of rulers, oblivious to their obligations, could well produce. These radical opinions would probably have provoked only curious investigation and calm debate, if the events that were then thickening had not forced upon American thinkers the inevitable conclusion, that to yield in even any small way to the continued exactions and invasions of their rights by parliament, would result in that condition of the colonies, and for England herself, of which other countries of Europe could and did so bitterly complain. Entire phrases of the Declaration of Independence are liberal and vigorous translations of the "Social Contract" of Jean Jaques Rousseau. One of his sentences in "Emile" is: "no man has the right to govern other men without their consent."

But to return to the congress. We have indicated the happy conditions that so wonderfully trained the delegates as thinkers, and men of action, and now we will briefly sum up the work of the various congresses before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

The first general congress met on the fifth of September, 1774. All the colonies but Georgia were represented, Georgia's attitude however being well known. At this congress the representatives ceased to petition parliament, and took boldly and openly the ground of their being crown colonies, and that the king should protect his own from the exactions and oppressions of his parliament. Of course it is known how aimably George III replied. In this first congress Jefferson was prevented by illness from taking his seat, but an address that he had prepared,—addressed to the king—for he, too, had ceased to think of parliament—was published in America and distributed broadcast by Burke in England,—a publication which brought to Jef-

person the honor of being the first American patriot to be proscribed.

The first continental congress adjourned to meet in May, 1775. On May 10th, 1775, after Lexington, Concord and Ticonderoga, the second congress met in Philadelphia. The previous congress had promised to support Massachusetts, and when in 1775, that pledge was kept, the political union of the colonies really began. This congress adopted the army about Boston as the continental army. It was the day when Washington received his appointment to command the army, that, fresh from his labors in the house of burgesses of Virginia, Jefferson appeared. Even after Bunker Hill, congress was desirous of explaining to the king the reasons of taking up arms and of justifying its opposition to oppression. Jefferson was added to the committee appointed to put on paper the attitude of congress in reference to Bunker Hill, but when he was at last asked to write the paper himself, and he presented it, it was considered too strong. The colonies were not yet ready to proclaim their independence, they still desired to be reconciled to the king. Therefor the congress kept on with addresses to the people of England, addresses to the colonies, and petitions to the king, while striving at the same time to keep Washington's army together, and assuring the people of Massachusetts of support all through the summer of '75, the winter of '75-76, the spring of '76, and part of that summer. However in June, 1776, Norfolk, the most populous city in Virginia, was blotted out by British troops, and Falmouth, on the coast of Maine, also met the same fate. Then the members of congress began to come slowly to the views of Jefferson, and his addresses to the king to appear a modest statement of facts. Before coming to events immediately preceding the Declaration of Independence, we ought to consider more closely the personnel of these delegates from the thirteen colonies of the Atlantic seaboard. There were sixty delegates; they were dressed in small

clothes, long silk stockings and low buckled shoes, and most of them wore their hair in a queue, though not all had it powdered. Of this congress Lord Chatham told the English parliament, "No body ever surpassed it in solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion."

Most of the men were in the prime of life: that dear, delightful, Grand Old Man of our early days, Dr. Franklin, was then seventy-one years old, two or three were over sixty, and there was a generous sprinkling of young men that added momentum and enthusiasm to the grave proceedings. One half had received a college or professional training and the enforced absence from home of that class was to them especially trying. It certainly was a wonderful body of able men, for from its members it sent forth Washington to command its armies, retained orators like Lee, Patrick Henry, John Adams, and John Rutledge; writers like Dickinson, Jefferson, William Livingston, and John Jay; lawyers like Sherman, Wilson, and Chase; men of business such as Hopkins, Langlon and Lewis; a philosopher like Franklin, and such embodiments of energetic and untiring will as Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved a resolution in this congress that the congress should declare the colonies free and independent states. That resolution was seconded by John Adams. Through all the proceedings of congress it was noticeable that what Virginia moved, Massachusetts seconded, and what Massachusetts moved, Virginia seconded, while to the delegates from New York there were generally assigned prominent places on all committees, and a general deference was manifested, which indicated a commendable desire to seek and understand the wishes of the representatives from the then well-defined sections of the country. Then the committee of five

NOTE.—This was said of the congress of 1774.—[Editor.]

members to present the resolutions favoring independence was formed, and they set about their work with the energy and enthusiasm of men, who after long and patient waiting on the hesitation and timidity of the other members of congress, knew that the great majority had at last come to view their erstwhile radical sentiments, as not only proper, but inevitable. The committee included Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York. To Jefferson was assigned the task of writing the first draft of the Declaration to be offered by the committee. It is said that after being assigned to that duty, and having retired to his own lodgings, he looked from the window and saw the soldiers that Pennsylvania was about to send to the army of Washington, and heard their unanimous shouts of approval when they were asked their vote for or against independence. Sweet and inspiring muse to his ears! It is small wonder that, thus convinced that the heart of the country beat with his own, he began to pen the immortal lines of the Declaration. When the committee finally approved Jefferson's work, the Declaration was submitted to congress. To the original resolutions of Jefferson, congress made six additions, altered ten and suppressed eighteen. Of the eighteen suppressed were those referring to African slavery. We wonder what would have been the history of our country if the Jeffersons and Lees of Virginia of those days had been able to convince the other delegates of the continental congress of the wisdom of their convictions.

The discussions of the Declaration dragged on through the better part of the month of June, and into the hot days of July. As in every great event in history, there has been mingled a note of buffoonery and mirth with the most intense seriousness, and even tragedy, so was it with the closing scenes of the continental congress that finally

adopted the Declaration of Independence. Of the five members of the committee Jefferson and Adams lived just fifty years after the signing of the Declaration, and on the same day, July 4th, 1826, expired. During that half century they were ever and always "two souls with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one," and that thought was their country's good. As is the way with all old people, they loved to tell of the great events of their early manhood, and Jefferson related to his grandchildren that one important reason for the haste with which the Declaration was at last signed on the Fourth of July, was the fact that the members were terribly annoyed with the flies; a stable in the neighborhood sent them in swarms through the open windows, and the members became exasperated with their futile efforts to drive the tiny tormentors from their legs, as the silk stockings they wore did not protect them from the annoyance. When at last released from the long tension of months, and feeling that come what might, the die was cast, as is usual with the human mind subjected to such strains, all the members, as they signed, indulged in jovial remarks. Of course it has passed into history that to the statement that they all ought to hang together, Franklin replied that if they did not they would certainly hang singly. However no one ever did hang singly; every signer of the Declaration of Independence but one,—his name I have forgotten, but from South Carolina and he was lost at sea, lived to a green old age, and died, if not happily, at least quietly, in his bed.

Of the immediate and far reaching results of the Declaration of Independence in this country, we know that the American army, thus created a national army with a country to fight for, became at last the army that, aided by our allies, triumphantly closed the war; that the Declaration of Independence asserted our rights to fight on the open sea, and procured the open alliance of France instead of her secret friendship; that foreign officers came to take service

in the army of the nation, who would long have hesitated to fight in the ranks of those known as revolting subjects.

Of the immediate effect in other countries, the volumns that tell of their history can alone do justice to the subject. It was a study of the Declaration of Independence and its place in our history that inspired the leaders of the countries in South America to revolt from the unjust rule of Spain, and win their freedom. It was the Declaration of Independence, with the burning eloquence of those self-sacrificing champions of the liberties of the French people, the educated, far seeing nobles and priests, that caused the agitation resulting in the calling of the States General in 1789, from which dates the French Revolution. It was the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence that for so long a time gave to LaFayette the leadership in the French Revolution, until the whirlwind sowed by the wind of the four corrupt reigns of absolute sovereigns became too violent to be guided by any but the fierce passions that had slumbered during the centuries of wrong and oppression. Voltaire and Rousseau lived a little more than two years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and those two great intellects, at times almost dethroned with the thought of the injustice and cruelty suffered by the people around them, took pleasure in reading it. Among the bright and gratifying tributes shown to the great French philosopher, which made a gorgeous sunset of his last moments, when, after twenty-six years of exile, he returned to Paris, was that rendered him by Franklin. Our American sage was then almost as much the idol of the French public as Voltaire himself. It is related that Franklin took his grandson to visit Voltaire and that the aged man, with the Declaration of Independence in his mind, put his hand on the child's head and said: "May God and Liberty bless thee, my child!"

Ever may we steer our Ship of State by our Polar Star, the Declaration of Independence!

THE PHYSICAL EVOLUTION OF NEW YORK CITY
IN A HUNDRED YEARS
1807—1907

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

THE OLD CITY—THE NEW CITY

(Fourth Paper)

IN the body of the Old City of New York the changes have not been so general, nor their manner so drastic as in the area of the New City and the suburban districts which are comparatively virgin soil for the architect. It is still the city of named streets as distinguished from the New City with its longitudinal avenues and lateral streets both designated with a few exceptions by numbers. This regular division, the first and most important point on the Commissioners plan so long as adhered to will mark the boundary between the Old and the New City.

The old streets were originally footpaths, country lanes and roads; public ways by common usage over the Amsterdam Company's farm or which had been opened through the lands, granted by the Company, at the convenience of the grantees. They show an irregularity which could hardly have been avoided on a triangular area such as the conformation is below Wall street. On the streets, however, east from Broadway as far up as the first mile stone at Houston street there was an orderly and parallel progress; westerly, however, above Canal street the three parallelograms of area with streets meeting at nearly right angles are confusing; and on the east side of the city about

east Broadway there is a similar juxtaposition of irregular parallelograms which present the same inconveniences.

It may prove of service to those curious in such matters to give a list of the old streets with the derivation of their names and the changes made in them from time to time. A few instances must here suffice. Clinton street after Governor Clinton; Broome street after Lieutenant-Governor Broome, Duane and Varick after two of the city's Mayors, Warren street after Sir Peter Warren, the hero of Louisburg; Chambers street after John Chambers the law counsellor of the city; Reade street after John Reade, a colonial merchant, Vesey street after the rector of Trinity Church. Then we have Pine, Cedar, Orchard, street names given after the revolution in place of those which recalled the British rule. Pitt and Chatham street retained the name of the great earl who defended American rights; Anthony and Lispenard streets recall the christian names of the owners of the estates through which they were opened, as does Henry street through the old Rutgers farm.

General Egbert L. Viele, an expert on this subject, in a valuable chapter of the Memorial History of New York reported the number of parks in 1893 in the Metropolitan System as twenty-five covering over five thousand acres (5,167). The system originated in a message of Mayor Kingsland in 1851 of which the outcome was the purchase of the land for Central Park an area of about eight hundred and forty acres.

The report of the Commissioners of Parks for the year 1905, the latest issued, gives the number of "improved parks," large and small as forty-three, with a total area of nearly twelve hundred acres and of six unimproved parks and parkways with an area of over one hundred and forty-eight acres; two of these are Seward Park and Hamilton Fish Park. There are also ten improved unnamed parks; four of these being triangles at avenue and street intersec-

tions and one on the East river a block between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, and there are also seven unimproved unnamed parks with a total area of about seventy-seven acres. There must be some error in Viele's figures.

The most interesting of all these public places is the children's farm school garden on the westerly side of De Witt Clinton Park on the North river at Eleventh avenue and west Fifty-third street with four hundred and fifty-eight plots for cultivation by boys and girls, a most successful experiment in practical farm tuition of eleven hundred children by experts.

Some notice must be made of the Bronx Borough parks. There are sixteen parks and four parkways of which the principal are Van Cortlandt park, over eleven hundred acres, Bronx park nearly seven hundred acres and Crotona park a hundred and fifty acres; and of a novel character and interest the great parkways the Bronx and Pelham nearly twelve thousand feet long by four hundred broad; the Spuyten Duyvil nearly twelve thousand feet long by sixty to one hundred and eighty broad and the Mosholu six thousand feet long by six hundred feet broad. In the acreage of the Bronx park are included the two hundred and sixty-one acres of the Zoological Park and the two hundred and fifty of the Botanical Garden. These compare favorably with any institutions of this character in the world, and with the Museum of Natural History on West Central Park, the menagerie at East Central Park and the Aquarium at the Battery offer a thorough opportunity for a free study of animal and vegetable nature.

To-day the National Guard of the State of New York has its headquarters in the fine white marble Stewart building on Broadway and Chambers street. The First Brigade has six Armories, large castellated structures which would well stand a siege. The most important of these are the Seventh regiment Armory on Park avenue at Sixty-seventh street, that of the Twelfth regiment at Columbia avenue and Sixty-

seventh street and of the Seventy-first at Park avenue and Thirty-fourth street.

There are forty National and forty-five State Banks in the Borough of Manhattan and Bronx of which fifty-four are associated and make their exchanges through a clearing house, a commodious building on Cedar street. There are thirty banks for savings, forty-two Trust Companies and thirty-one Safe Deposit Companies, some of these with fine buildings and scattered all over the city. Nothing is named in the form of an Exchange in 1807. To-day nearly every branch of trade has its own building where its members meet for the transaction of business. The most important of the trade exchanges are the magnificent Stock Exchange on Wall street with its elaborate ornamentation, the Produce Exchange a stately structure at Broadway and Beaver street, and not less important from the enormous amount of business transacted in them, the Cotton Exchange on William street and the Coffee Exchange on Pearl. There was but one theatre in 1807. To-day there are sixty-seven places of amusement. The principal buildings being the Metropolitan Opera House, the Madison Square Garden with its immense amphi-theatre and the Hippodrome, a new departure which in its exhibitions recalls the scenic effects of the old Roman shows.

There are to-day eighteen public halls of which the most important structures are Carnegie Music Hall, Cooper Union Hall, Lyric Hall and the Turn-Verein at east Eighty-fifth street.

The clubs of New York are now most important elements both in the social structure and physical appearance of the city. There were certainly associations of gentlemen merchants and professional men in the colonial period, but we find nothing in the form of a club in our modern sense until the formation of the Union Club with a comparative limited membership in a commodious house on the east side of Broadway below Canal street in 1836. It later removed to

the fine building at the corner of Twenty-first street and Fifth avenue (1855) but like its neighbors has been driven up town. This was followed by a second institution of the junior members of society, the New York club who occupied a building on the east side of Broadway just above Houston street. After sundry changes it is now located on West Fortieth street opposite the new Public Library. It sold its building on the corner of the Fifth avenue and Fifty-fourth street for over a million of dollars, an enormous advance over its cost; and a most notable instance of the rapid growth of real estate values in New York. The latest of the fashionable clubs is the Metropolitan Club on the Fifth avenue at Sixtieth street and the most select the Knickerbocker at Fifth avenue and Thirty-second. It would be idle to enumerate even the principal of these societies of which there are perhaps two hundred with a membership of between seventy-five to a hundred thousand persons. Of these the buildings most in evidence are the University and the Union League clubs both on the Fifth avenue.

The City Hotel was in 1807, as it had been from the middle of the century preceding, the chief tavern in the city. It stood on the site of the Province Arms the old city residence of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey. In 1754 it was opened as a hotel and known till 1793 as the City Arms or the City Tavern. Reconstructed on the Tontine plan in 1793 it was long known as one of the most famous houses in the United States. To-day there are seventy-one principal hotels and as many of a subordinate character. During the century in their uptown movement have been the Astor House, the Irving House, the St. Nicholas, the Metropolitan, the New York, the Everett House on Union Square, the Fifth avenue. The Hoffman, the Gilsey, the Imperial the Normandie, the Metropole, all these on the line of Broadway, and long ago the Fifth avenue was alike invaded by the Brunswick and the Holland House, these and many others first-class in every respect. The latest constructions remarkable

alike for their size and the extravagant luxury of their appointments are the Waldorf-Astoria, the St. Regis and the Gotham, the Savoy and the New Netherlands and the New Astor on Times Square. Of the Public Houses of the old Colonial Period Fraunces Tavern alone remains, but in 1807 it was either a store or a private residence. It was the property of the Gardners, the great Dry-Goods merchants of their day. To-day the old building has been remodeled in colonial style by the Sons of the Revolution and will be made their headquarters, with a museum for their collection of historic relics.

There are to-day eighteen art galleries on Manhattan Island while a century ago there was no building dedicated to such purpose. The principal of the present public institutions are the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New York Historical Society, which received the collections of the National Academy of Design in which there are some of the finest specimens of early American art. In the large portrait gallery of the Historical Society will be found many of the worthies of the old colonial and revolutionary days, as also in the Chamber of Commerce of great merchants. To-day there are fifty-six monuments and statues in New York city, but few worth mentioning as works of art. Of these in the historic view the great Obelisk is the only one worth noticing. Of the statues perhaps the only one that can be classed as high art is the great equestrian statue of Sherman at the entrance of Central Park. This has been objected to because of the figure of Victory in front, but in my humble opinion to-day it stands among the great statues of the world, on line with the Marcus Aurelius in Rome or the Corleone in Venice. But there are many other creditable statues. On the same higher plane of art is the beautiful memorial arch on Washington Square.

Next in importance in the physical development of the city to the extension of the park system, has been the construction of enormous buildings, in many cases covering

blocks in extent, for purposes of business and residence. There are to-day over sixty buildings on Manhattan Island varying in height from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet. Besides these three exceptionally high structures, the Flat Iron at Twenty-third street, the new Times building at Forty-second street and the St. Pauls at Ann street, all on Broadway. The number of stories in these buildings vary from fifteen to thirty and others of forty stories and upward are contemplated. They are scattered all over the city. To realize the extent of the transformation it is only necessary to take a bird's eye view from the top of one of the tall towers or roof gardens when these massive structures at night with their thousand of lighted windows present a most interesting spectacle. Besides the hotels there are hundreds of apartment houses some of great size, and the last development in this class of structure is the apartment-hotel; which combines the privacy of a home with the advantages of a public house. The building statistics although voluminous are sadly deficient. It seems odd indeed that reference must be had to the Health, Police and School departments for information about buildings. From these sources it is ascertained that there have been 98,357 new apartments constructed since 1902 on Manhattan Island alone, and as many more in the boroughs. The housing capacity of the city has been doubled in four years. The population of Greater New York has increased over one million of souls since the census of 1900. It now nearly reaches the five million mark and is rapidly overtaking that of London. It is undeniable that since the dispersion of tongues after the Babel catastrophe there has been no such assemblage of the various types of the human race; unless perhaps in the palmiest days of the Roman Empire when all roads converged in the Imperial City and were thronged with a moving swarm whose answer when questioned as to their destination was uniformly "Tendimus in Latium"—we are bound for Rome.

Still we glean from the report to the president of the Borough of Manhattan for January, 1906, some interesting facts. There are over five hundred miles of sewers in the city; of these many in the northerly districts are completed and many under contract as high as Two Hundred and Fourteenth street. The paving of the streets in the same section is rapidly progressing and the day is not distant when the whole of the upper area of the island will be ready for population. Permits were given in 1905 to ten business houses for private tunnels; the tendency of the day being to underground structures, private as well as public. So that the old myth of the Unter-weld or under-world is practically realized.

The conformation of the city which at its greatest width is two and half miles (Chambers street one mile, Houston street the limit of the old city two and a half miles, and from Twenty-third north to One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, averaging about that distance), naturally explains the upward trend of residence and traffic. A look at the directory of 1807 shows that the residence of all the professional men whose names have come down to us, were with hardly an exception below Chambers street.

It only remains to give in an cursory manner some account of the changes in modes of travel and communication, which have made our physical development possible; changes which radical and great as they have been are not yet equal to the enormous demand of our congested population. I have elsewhere given an exhaustive account of the evolution of our modes of travel from the days of stage coaches on the Bowery and Bloomingdale roads and the omnibusse on our city streets to the steam elevated railroads, a system which had been largely perfected in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To-day with our new rapid-transit system, with its subways and tunnels under land and water we are in the midst of an upheaval of which the end is not yet in sight. Let us hope that before the ter-

centenary of Hudson's discovery the hopes of those who promise us as an outcome of our wonderful transformation a "City Beautiful" may be realized. It is certain that with the improvements in the outlying districts of Westchester and the Bronx with their spacious parkways and concourses there will be an opportunity for the coming generation to breathe a little of that fresh air, to see a little of that sunlight, and enjoy something of an occasional respite from hideous sounds, which is denied to ourselves.

And there is reason for such hope. Already it is accepted that the age of steam is closing and that of electricity is fast maturing; as may be seen in its adaptation to the purposes of lighting, heating and motive power in and out of doors. A change which will put an end to the smoke stack and its foul fumes, to the furnace with its noxious heat and dust to the gas pipe with its dangerous and pestilent odors. What the anti-noise league may accomplish is not so clearly manifest. Yet with all these assured additions to the comfort of life there are those of us who would gladly part with them for that tranquility which we enjoyed in the picturesque little triangle south of the City Hall Park, with its easy distances by day and its quiet nights cooled by the unfailing midnight ocean breezes soothing and invigorating to which on the lower floors at least our modern mammoth structures present an impassable barrier. Fortunately the rising generation will not be troubled with any such reminiscences or comparisons. As the latin adage is "times change and we change with them."

NOTES

Some extremely valuable statistics have recently appeared in the New York Press which brings the story of the physical development of the city down from the date of the annual reports of the departments to the present moment and complete the Centennial Contrast.

HUMAN TIDE OVERWHELMING MANHATTAN.

New York Times

"In thirty or forty years the population within twenty miles of where we now stand will be the largest aggregation of population upon the earth. In fact there is no limit that can be set to the growth of your city." These were the words of Mr. James Bryce, the new British Ambassador to this country, in a recent speech in New York City. Year by year the clash between business Manhattan and residential Manhattan is becoming more serious. Every day sees some mansion torn down or built over to make way for offices and shops. As for those who have given careful study to the matter, all agree that Manhattan, in the comparative near future, will practically not be used for residential purposes at all. Everybody will live on the mainland or on Long Island, leaving Manhattan entirely to business, with a sprinkling of hotels, theatres, clubs, and the like.

One of the principal reasons why New Yorkers must some day abandon Manhattan Island is that they will have to give more room to the vast crowds of outsiders who are attracted thither either by business or pleasure or a combination of both. It is this tremendous influx of people that really makes New York the unbearably overcrowded city that we know.

But where all the elements of overcrowding combine to create conditions that are unbearable is on the various Manhattan transportation lines.

During 1906, the total number of cash fares taken in on all the lines of Greater New York—Subway, elevated, and surface—was 1,289,000,000. In addition to this, 397,000,000 transfers were issued. In its latest report regarding the transit situation in New York City the Board of Railroad Commissioners says:

"On none of the important lines operated in the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, or on none of the lines operated between Manhattan and Brooklyn, surface or elevated, can passengers ride in comfort or convenience during the so-called rush hours.

"The above conditions are due to physical limitations which prevent the operation of a sufficient number of cars to properly accommodate the travel."

The most recent census shows the land valuation of New York City to be \$5,800,000,000 an increase in 1907 of \$400,000,000 over 1906. The increase of 1906 over 1905 was \$480,000,000.

ENGINEERING PROJECTS

New York Sun

There are now actually under way in this city engineering projects whose contract value is about \$344,000,000. Contracts have been author-

ized but not yet let for \$105,000,000 more work, making a total of \$449,000,000 already under way or authorized.

If in addition to this if the great Catskill water project of the city, which has already been started and for which contracts averaging \$3,000,000 a year have been given out, be included the total cost of the various engineering improvements related to this town will reach the vast sum of \$611,000,000 for the final cost of the water supply system is estimated at \$162,000,000.

AMOUNT OF WORK PRACTICALLY STARTED

Ernest John Munby, an engineer of large experience in tunnel building and at present employed in the McAdoo enterprise under the Hudson River, has prepared the following table of the cost of these enterprises for a forthcoming number of the *Engineering Magazine*:

Work	Estimated Cost.
Pennsylvania tunnels and terminals	\$100,000,000
Hudson Companies' tunnels, subways and terminal.....	100,000,000
New York Central terminals and electrification.....	80,000,000
Battery tunnels and subway extension.....	9,000,000
New York and Long Island tunnels.....	4,000,000
Subway extension and pipe galleries, East Side.....	40,000,000
Subway extension and pipe galleries, West Side.....	50,000,000
Subway bridge loop	15,000,000
Manhattan Bridge	20,000,000
Williamsburg Bridge	15,000,000
Blackwell's Island Bridge	15,000,000
Smaller bridges	1,000,000
Total	\$449,000,000
New water supply	162,000,000
Grand total	\$611,000,000

These figures do not include the work on the Ambrose channel in the harbor, which is a \$4,000,000 job, nor do they take into account the engineering work done on great buildings. There was about \$40,000,000 worth of building done in this town last year for office and factory buildings alone. It is safe to say that from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000 of that work required the services of expert engineers.

TUNNELS

New York Sun

Of the sixteen tunnels under rivers provided for eight have already been pierced. They are in sets of twos. The first was the McAdoo tun-

nel under the Hudson, from Fifteenth street, Jersey City, to Morton street, New York. The northern tube of that work was joined under water in March, 1905, and the southern tube early in 1906.

The second set of tunnels was completed under the Harlem River for the subway, and those are now in full operation. They are only one-tenth as long as the Hudson tunnels. The third set to meet under the river were the Pennsylvania tunnels, but they were fourth in the order of starting.

The fourth set to meet and the third to get started were the subway tunnels under the East River for the Rapid Transit system. The headings in the northern tube met on December 14 and those in the southern tube met on March 1.

BELMONT EAST RIVER TUNNELS

Another engineering enterprise that is bound to have great influence on the transportation problems of the greater city is that of the New York and Long Island Railway Company, which is building what is known generally as the Belmont tunnel from Long Island City to the Grand Central Station.

New York Times, May 26, 1907

It was officially announced last week that the upper tunnels of the Hudson River Company, more popularly known as the "McAdoo tunnels," will be ready for service next October. * * *

While there are four tunnels in the system, only the two upper ones are to be ready this Fall. Like the lower ones, these are two bores, each carrying a single standard gauge track. The uptown tunnels will, in October, furnish connection between Hoboken, and as far uptown as Fourteenth Street and Sixth Avenue. The main line is being extended northward under Sixth Avenue to Thirty-third Street, and there a big terminal station is to be constructed on the plot now occupied by the Manhattan Theatre. The passenger entrances will be at Ninth, Fourteenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-third, Twenty-eight, and Thirty-third Streets. At Ninth Street and Sixth Avenue a branch will be continued eastward under Ninth Street to Astor Place, where it will connect with the Manhattan Subway.

The four tunnels will have a maximum capacity of about 150,000,000 annually. During the rush hours the cars will be run on a minute and a half schedule. While the company does not contemplate that any will be stalled anywhere, yet they have wisely provided a means by which passengers can make their way from them in case of such accident. This is on the ledge which is placed level with the floors of the cars, and upon which passengers of a disabled train may step and continue their way on foot and with no fear of any deadly third rail.

THE NEW SUBWAY SYSTEM

In elaborating the subway system for Manhattan, three extensive projects have already been authorized. One is known as the West Side, another as the East Side and the third as the Bridge loop. The loop system is to connect the Brooklyn, Manhattan and Williamsburg bridges. It is a tunnel about a mile and a quarter long and will cost about \$5,000,000 for the Manhattan work. When the Brooklyn branch of the loop is finished the cost will be \$10,000,000 more.

The new West Side subway system, which has been authorized, will call for the expenditure of about \$42,000,000 for the subway proper and possibly \$8,000,000 more for pipe galleries. This system will run from the Battery to Woodlawn Cemetery, a total distance of about fourteen miles. It will have four tracks, with a two track extension on Jerome avenue.

The new East system will have a length of a little more than twelve miles and will cost nearly \$40,000,000. It will run to 164th street on the East Side from the Battery.

New York Sun

No building in New York will approach the magnitude of the downtown terminal station of the McAdoo tunnels. The preparations for its construction are already one of the sights of the town.

An immense box of concrete is being sunk at Church and Cortlandt streets, 400 feet long and 178 wide. This box of concrete reaches down to solid rock, a distance of about 100 feet. It is to enclose the cellar of the great building in which the river trains are to be loaded and unloaded.

There will be twenty-two renting floors in the building and it is estimated that there will be no less than 10,000 tenants in the building. The terminal will be of two parts, from Cortlandt to Fulton streets, practically a twin structure, and will occupy a space of 70,000 square feet of ground.

The cubic area will be 14,500,000 feet above ground and 3,650,000 feet below. The largest present building in Manhattan has 7,000,000 cubic feet of space.

There will be thirty-nine elevators in operation, and restaurants, telephone and telegraph booths, flower and bootblackening places in the basement. There will be five sets of double tracks in the basement which will be reached by stairways escalators and elevators.

COLOSSAL BUILDINGS

New York Herald

Six magnificent New York structures—the Madison Square Garden, the Flatiron building, Macy's big dry goods establishment, the towering Hanover Bank, the colossal Hippodrome and the Brunswick building, just erected on the site of the old Hotel Brunswick, in Fifth avenue.

(as on the Hudson River) *Journal of Fire*

In New York, by which is understood the metropolitan district, or Greater New York and its environs, there are in round numbers 300,000 buildings, 30,000 business buildings, 8,000 manufacturing buildings, 7,000 mercantile buildings, 1,700 fireproof buildings, 100 fireproof buildings in course of construction, 150 large hotels, 100 wholesale groceries, 100 theatres, 90 breweries, 75 piano factories, 75 department stores, 50 wholesale drug houses, 50 large furniture stores.

On Manhattan Island alone there are 100,000 buildings, 25,000 business buildings, 5,500 mercantile buildings, 4,000 manufacturing buildings, 1,500 fireproof buildings, 100 large hotels, 100 wholesale groceries, 75 theatres, 45 breweries, 50 piano factories, 50 department stores, 50 wholesale drug houses, 50 large furniture stores.

New York Times, May 26, 1907.

The big downtown terminal buildings, which are to be completed in 1908, will constitute the hub upon which will be centred all of the downtown traffic of the three great railway systems and trolley lines terminating in Jersey City. They have been called the Capitol of Underground New York. They will be the very nerve centre of underground rapid transit in Manhattan, for the tenant of these buildings may, without at any time going from under cover, be landed in the Pennsylvania, Erie and Lackawanna stations in Jersey City, may similarly reach the Broadway subway and be landed in the Grand Central Station, New York, and Long Island Station in Brooklyn, and may also, under cover, reach the Sixth and Ninth Avenue lines of the elevated railway system, to say nothing of the surface lines which will pass the several fronts. Any new subways on the west side must necessarily have connections with these buildings.

Nothing that has been projected in the city of New York will be quite so unique as this great structure. The intercommunicating system of tunnels and subways of which it is the nucleus will probably do more for the extension of the metropolitan district than any improvement contemplated in Greater New York.

THE RAILWAY IMPROVEMENTS

The New York Central's improvements are so thoroughly under way that electrification of the suburban traffic is nearly completed and part of it is in operation. These improvements consist of building a new station at Forty-second street and of constructing an entirely new system of approach to the terminal for the trains.

The yardage is being widened, necessitating the removal of more than 3,000,000 cubic yards of solid rock. Electric operation of the road will be used for a distance of twenty-four miles on the Harlem railroad

and thirty-four miles on the Hudson division. This will eliminate all smoke in the city tunnel.

The work will not be completed until 1910, about the time that the Pennsylvania will have gained entrance to New York city. Elaborate street improvements for the highways that cross the tracks have been planned and Park avenue will be extended north over the tracks, giving practically a new northern street for the upper part of the city.

The work ranks almost equally with that of the Pennsylvania work from a financial point of view, but there are not so many engineering problems involved because there is no river tunnelling.

INTERBOROUGH RAPID TRANSIT

The annual report of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which operates the subway and elevated lines in Manhattan and The Bronx, shows that the number of passengers carried last year was 420,302,389, an increase of 54,127,910 over the previous year. The daily average was 1,151,514, as compared with 1,003,218 in 1905.

The company's gross earnings for 1906 were \$20,916.147, an increase of \$2,697,881 over the total of 1905. The operating expenses showed an increase of only \$548,482 over 1905. The net earnings were \$12,122,660, an increase of \$2,149,398. The company's net income was \$7,493,192, an increase of \$1,125,050. The report shows a surplus of \$3,545,192, an increase of \$1,041,050 over 1905. The operating per cent. was decreased from 42.04 to 32.20.

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD OPERATION

Every one who has watched the digging of the enormous hole from Thirty-first to Thirty-third streets, and from Seventh to Ninth avenues, has gained some idea of the tremendous operation involved in bringing the Pennsylvania Railroad into Manhattan. That great excavation, however, is only a small part of the work, but it has been a mighty object lesson.

With the general plans of the task New Yorkers are fairly familiar. It is known that the Pennsylvania will tunnel under the Hudson River, build a big station at Seventh avenue continue across Manhattan Island to Thirty-third street, tunnel under the East River and then come out on Long Island, where immense yards and stations will give Brooklyn direct railroad connection with the rest of the world.

On the Brooklyn side the Pennsylvania will connect with what is known as the connecting railroad, which will erect a bridge across the East River at Hell Gate to connect with the tracks of the New Haven Railroad close to the place where the through Boston trains are now shifted on big ferryboats to be carried around to Jersey City.

The New Haven Railroad will therefore have access to the Manhattan terminal of the Pennsylvania, and there has been considerable talk to the

effect that when it was completed the New Haven system might abandon the Grand Central Station for the new one.

All the trains entering the New York terminal of the Pennsylvania are to be propelled by electricity. The Pennsylvania tunnels will have one peculiarity that no other subfluminal tunnels possess. The weight of the trains that run through them will not rest upon the tunnel tubes, but upon screw piles protected by concrete, which will run down to the solid rock under the river. Some of the piles will run down a depth of 150 feet. The weight of the tracks will be supported on these pillars, which will be fifteen feet apart. The iron tubes through which the trains will run will serve merely to keep the mud out and give the cars a free passage.

Over in Long Island City the Pennsylvania will have its great Sunny-side yards, which will require about 2,300,000 cubic yards of excavation and 2,000,000 yards of filling.

ERRATA

An accident which delayed the issue of the March number and prevented a final revise by the writer of these papers is accountable for several errors which are now corrected as well as some which occurred in the January number.

In the January number page 27, line 6, for St. Pauls building read Park Bank building. At the time referred to this was the upper end of the west side of Broadway below the Commons, City Hall Park. It made part of the Arden estate.

In the same number on page 35 upon the note at its foot at the line before the last, for northeasterly read northwesterly.

In the January number an error also occurred on page 41 in the account of the thirteen trees on the "Grange." They are named in the old deed by which Hamilton acquired the land.

In the March number, page 97, in the foot note line before the last, read Charlton for Chatham.

On page 106 (section on Bridges over the Harlem) Lewis Morris' bridge read 1774 for 1704.

In the same number on page 125 last line but one read for Historical Society read Newport Historical Society.

APPENDIX

THE CITY MAPS

A map of the city was first ordered by the New Amsterdam government and to Joseph Cortelyou was given the execution of the decree. This map was probably made, but no copy of it had been found as late as

1891. The Duke's Plan made in 1664—the year of the capture of the city by the English—represents the town as it was in 1661. The Dutch had made but two roads or ways. One on the East River water line (the Strand) to a ferry to Brooklyn, at about the Peck Slip of to-day—the other on the Brede-way (now Broadway) northerly from the Dutch Fort—Amsterdam as far as the corner of the Commons where it veered to the northeast and was the beginning of the Highway first called the Bouerie Lane, later the Post Road to Boston. In the beginnings only five streets owed their origin to ordinances—Stone street and its continuation Pearl, Broadway, the old Heeren-straade (or gentlemens street) Broad the old Heeren-graft (or gentlemens canal) and Wall street (Cingle or Single street as its name appears on the maps). The limits of New Amsterdam on the Dutch Map are Wall street and on the East River Roosevelt street. It has no legend of street names.

The next Map of New York is that of 1695. On this the thoroughfares are Broadway, Broad and Dock street opening to the North River, viz: On the line of Dock street south of the Fort—at the city gate—(the Water Gate) just above the Fort; at Luyster's Half Moon Battery—a bastion just north of the stockade (a defence on the Hudson); at a street called Church which ran west from King street now William to the river; and at the northwest Blockhouse, to which a lane led from Wall street. Above the line of Wall street on the west side was only Crown street (now Liberty). On the east side of Broadway were Queen street, Crown street and Maiden Lane. Between Broadway and Broad streets were Dock, Mill, Stone streets, Petticoat Lane, Beaver and Church. On the east side of the road were Dock, Duke, Mill, Princes and Church. The next street east of Broad was King a semi-circular street, at the East river end of which was the slip.

The next map of interest is Lynes Map of 1729, which first gives us some indication of modern lines. On the North river side west of Broadway there is no change which reaches the river front. There appears a dock called Comforts dock at the foot of a street or lane running from the Broadway to the river; a block above Ellison's dock at the foot of Little Queen street—the last northerly street was Crown (now Liberty) beyond this we find the limits of the King's Farm of which the eastern was the High Road to Boston to the eastward of the Broadway. At its south was the old wind mill lane. There was a rope walk on the west line of Broadway, from the point of the old Post Road to Boston. On the east side the most northerly street is Frankfort. Cherry street is outlined northeasterly from Queens and there several docks named from Roosevelt—mostly used as ship yards. On the East river line there was one block of houses below Queen street to Hanover Square extended from which were Hunters and Burnetts Keys (quays or wharves) after which all the wharves and docks were above Beekman Slip where we find Schemmerhorn's wharf, Cannon's wharf, Livingston's wharf and Ellison

wharf and above these a large number of ship yards. Cannon's wharf took its name from John Cannon a colonial merchant.

The next map was that of Marschalk the City surveyor in 1755. Here again but little change is found on the Hudson river side of the town. There are indications of openings to the water, but the only named streets are Little Queen, Crown, Cortlandt, Dye, Partition (Fair street east of Broadway), Vesey, Barclay, Robinson (from Chapel street to the river and now Park Place from Church to Broadway, Murray and Warren. Above Murray the line of Palisades with a Blockhouse at Chapel, a gate at the Broadway, a Blockhouse at Banker street which reached to Bayard's sugar house on Cherry street at the corner of James. The last street on the East river side is Catherine and below this as far as the Roosevelt wharves at Peck slip was the dock or wharf granted to the Corporation.

Ratzer's Plan of the city in 1767, in many ways the most complete correct and interesting of all of these, indicates the highways and roads in an unmistakable fashion. On the Hudson river roadside the road to Greenwich begins at the Battery and ends on the limits of the map which touch the north end side of the Lisenards estate. The Broadway, the next road or street northward, ends in the fields or commons which were mapped out but not improved. Between the Ranelagh Gardens and the Fresh Water Pond, the named streets on the Broadway on the west stop at Warren street on this map.

The northeast road (Park Row) from the south end of the Park was in the later colonial days known as the Post road to Boston. It forked at the head of an open space which we now know as Chatham Square. The western road one of the two great highways was called the Bowery Lane; here again the limits of the map end high up in the fields where there are named streets. The eastern fork ran parallel with the East river and extended beyond the Rutgers river farm.

Sauthier's map of 1776 was a purely military map, but of great value as showing the lines of the American defences on Harlem Heights. Hill's map of 1782, also a military map is hardly worth considering; he names Barclay, Warren and Chambers street on the North river, the East river wharves stop at the foot of James street and the streets at the foot of Catherine and the end of Cherry. The chief interest of this map is its definite location of Vandewater's Heights that section of the Bloomingdale Heights which Sir William Howe designated as the site of the battle of Harlem.

Montrossor, an engineer officer of the highest character in the English service, made a partial map of the city in 1775. Its northern limitation was Greenwich. On this map we see the southern line of Oliver De Lancey's estate with the Obelisk or monument to Wolfe. The properties on the river line are not named, but we find that in 1762 De Lancey for himself and the heirs of Sir Peter Warren were granted soil in front of their land between high and low water mark and thence two hundred feet into the Hudson river. The map shows "the road to Greenwich" as ending

some distance below. The interior road from the East side of the city is marked down and termed Road to the Obelisk. This is the old Greenwich Lane which began at the Bowery and ran in a southwesterly direction on the line of what was once called Art street later Astor Place to the upper corner of the old Potter's Field (the present Washington Square) where it took its northerly trend. On the map it begins at the highway "Road to Albany and Boston"; correct enough because this road an extension of the Bowery Lane only parted in its northern and eastern directions beyond King's Bridge.

The map most important in view of the present investigation is that of Mangin the city Surveyor in 1803. He was an engineer of the best class and an architect of the highest order of talent. To the west of Broadway we find Greenwich street beginning at the Battery and reaching to Bank street; Washington street is only outlined beyond Des Brosses street and is not named nor yet West though outlined as a river street. The blocks on the water front are not marked as inhabited. The Commissioners map has already been described.



Rufus King

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THE KING FAMILY

BY W. W. SPOONER

KING is one of the most frequent surnames almost everywhere in the United States; but only a small proportion of those by whom it is borne belong to the ancestral line presented in this memoir, which begins with *Richard King* of Scarborough, Me., (1718-75). His eldest son was the illustrious statesman, *Hon. Rufus King* (1755-1827); other sons (half-brothers of Rufus) being *Hon. William King* (1768-1852), first governor of the state of Maine, and *Hon. Cyrus King* (1772-1817), member of congress from Maine. The progenitor, *Richard King* of Scarborough, was in early life an enterprising citizen of the colony of Massachusetts, where by his merits and influential associations he laid the foundations of a successful career. At the age of twenty-eight he was appointed to the highly important position of commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain, in the celebrated expeditionary force which captured the stronghold of Louisburg. Removing to Maine, he became one of the largest landowners, as well as one of the foremost merchant-shipowners, of that portion of New England.

The history of the Kings from the times of *Richard* is perhaps as well known as that of any American family. But owing to an unfortunate circumstance the earlier records have never been ascertainable with exactitude. Shortly before the death of *Richard* a mob broke into his house, and among other acts of depredation burned most of his private papers. Thus whatever family records he possessed were destroyed; and in spite of diligent efforts by genealogists to

establish the facts of the family origin, no complete details have been procured.

It seems certain that Richard King was born in 1718; for at the time of his death in March, 1775, his age was given as fifty-seven. The conclusion generally accepted by his descendants is that he was the eldest child of John and Mary (Stowell) King of Boston, Mass. This is his parentage as stated in the late Dr. Charles R. King's valuable work, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King." But the principal authority on the subject is William S. Southgate's "History of Scarborough, from 1633 to 1783," published by the Maine Historical Society in 1853. The Southgates were intimately allied to the Kings. Mary King, eldest daughter of Richard King, married Dr. Robert Southgate, who after the death of his father-in-law became the custodian of all the papers left by him. In William S. Southgate's "History of Scarborough" it is declared that Richard was the son of John and Mary (Stowell) King; and in view of the early connection between the King and Southgate families it is highly improbable that the historian of Scarborough was in error on this point. Dr. Southgate adds that Richard King had three brothers—David (a merchant in Saco), Josiah, and William (a sea-captain); and all these names appear in the record that have been preserved of the children of John and Mary (Stowell) King.¹

¹The following were the children of John and Mary (Stowell) King, so far as their names can be ascertained from surviving records: Mary, b. June 8, 1719; Sarah, b. February 27, 1720; William, baptized June 27, 1725; David, baptized August 21, 1726; Rebecca, baptized November 10, 1728; Josiah, baptized April 4, 1731; Martha, baptized September 2, 1733; Katherine, baptized May 23, 1736.

The question of the ancestry of Richard King of Scarborough is, on account of the great distinction of the family descended from him, one of the most interesting of unsolved genealogical problems. In the compilation of the present memoir the writer has interviewed or corresponded with a number who have devoted much study to the subject. One of these writes: "So far as the members of the King Family are concerned, the presumption that John King and Mary Stowell were the parents of Richard King is the one that is received with most favor. But it would be a mistake to say that we regard this supposed parentage as established. Upon this point we are simply agnostics." Another writes: "I have been for twenty-years interested

Connected with the question of the American ancestry of the King Family is that of its English origin. Researches regarding the antecedents of a number of the early Kings of New England have pointed to the county of Kent, England, as the place of their nativity. It is also significant that Hon. Rufus King, who twice served as minister from the United States to the court of St. James, adopted the coat armor of the King Family of Kent, which is described in heraldic terms as follows: *Arms*—sable, a lion rampant guardant ermine, between three crosses *patee fitchée* at the foot or. *Crest*—a lion's gamb erased and erect sable, grasping a cross *patee fitchée* or. *Motto* selected—*Recte et suaviter*.

Disregarding all unsettled genealogical questions, we take as our starting-point the fully established records of the family which begin with Richard King of Scarborough.

I

RICHARD KING. He was born in the year 1718, probably in Boston or Watertown, Mass. Possessing native ability, cultivation, and force of character, he attained at an early age to a position of substantial success and influence. He was engaged for a number of years in the timber business at Watertown, with especial reference to fur-

in this investigation, but have to confess that I do not know the time when or the place where Richard King was born. I *think* he was a son of John and Mary (Stowell) King of Boston."

A Maine genealogist, the late W. F. Smith, after an exhaustive search of local records, constructed a pedigree for Richard King of Scarborough, comprehending four preceding generations, which was published in the *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder* for 1884. According to this, he was b. February 25, 1720, and was descended from four previous Richards, whose principal place of residence was the town of Kittery, Me. But the Smith pedigree has never been accepted by the family; and one of our correspondents informs us that "Mr. Smith, before his death, became satisfied that his evidence was weak."

Dr. Charles R. King, the author of the "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," says that John King, the (supposed) father of Richard, was twice m., his first wife having been Sarah Allen. In a recent letter from a prominent member of the King Family in Maine we are informed that this statement is erroneous; that the first wife of John King was Elizabeth Weber, his marriage to her having occurred September 14, 1704.

nishing materials for the construction of houses and ships. In this venture he was associated with Ebenezer Thornton, and enjoyed a prosperous trade.

Upon the organization in 1745 of the expedition against Cape Breton, commanded by Sir William Pepperell, he was appointed by Governor Shirley to the position of commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain; he was instrumental in raising troops, and was present at the resulting surrender of Louisburg. After his return he disposed of his interests in Watertown and removed (1748) to Dunstan's Landing near Scarborough, in the district of Maine (then a part of Massachusetts). Here he devoted himself for the remainder of his life to extensive enterprises. He conducted a large store, was engaged in the manufacture and exportation of lumber on a considerable scale, and built and owned many vessels, with which he prosecuted a thriving trade with Boston and other New England ports. In addition, he was the proprietor of some three thousand acres of valuable land. In all respects he was the principal man of that section of Maine. "Possessed of a clear mind, a knowledge of common legal forms, and writing a good hand, his services were in demand; and so Mr. King drifted into a sort of legal practice and was both trader and conveyancer." He also for many years discharged the duties of magistrate.

All the accounts of Richard King which have come down to us describe him as a man of the highest worth of character, tenderly devoted to his family, and possessed of excellent accomplishments—the fragments of his writings which remain evincing "his familiarity with the ancient classics, his political sagacity, his prudence, and solid common sense." "His talents," says Dr. Southgate, "were such as in another field of labor would have secured to him an honorable position amongst the intellectual men of his day. In public life he was honored and esteemed, in private life he was loved."

Soon after his removal to Scarborough Mr. King erected, at Dunstan's Landing, a fine two-story house, which for many years was the principal dwelling in the place. Here he resided until his death, March 27, 1775. His remains, and those of several of his family, were buried in a lot on his property which has since remained in the possession of the King Family and is now under the custody of the Maine Historical Society. Upon this spot a monument was erected in 1902 by his great-grandson, Edward King of New York.

IN MEMORY OF

RICHARD KING

Born at Boston, Massachusetts, 1718

Died at Dunstan Landing, Scarborough, 1775

Commissary of Subsistence and Captain in the force that captured Louisburg

In 1745 under General Pepperell

Farmer, Merchant, Shipowner and Magistrate in the Town of Scarborough

His remains are buried on this knoll

ALSO IN MEMORY OF HIS SONS

RUFUS KING

Born at Scarborough, March 24th, 1755

Died April 29th, 1827. Buried Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.

A graduate of Harvard University 1777

Served as Major and Aid on the Staff of General Glover in
Rhode Island, 1778

Member Massachusetts General Court from Newburyport, 1783

Delegate from Massachusetts to Continental Congress, 1784

Member Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, 1787

Member Convention of Massachusetts which ratified the
Constitution of the United States, 1788

Senator of the United States from the State of New York

1789 to 1796, 1813 to 1819, 1820 to 1825

Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain by
Washington, 1796, continued under Adams and Jefferson until 1803

Again appointed in 1825 by J. Q. Adams

Inflexibly opposed to the extension of slavery in the Union

Orator, Statesman, Patriot

WILLIAM KING

Born at Scarborough, February, 1768
 Died at Bath, June 17th, 1852
 Buried in Maple Grove Cemetery, Bath
 Member of Maine Legislature
 President Constitutional Convention of Maine
 First Governor of Maine, 1821
 For 28 years Trustee of Bowdoin College
 His statue stands in the Capitol at Washington
 Representing the State of Maine

CYRUS KING

Born at Scarborough, September, 1772
 Died at Saco, April 25th, 1817
 A graduate from Columbia College, N. Y., 1794
 Member United States Congress from Maine, 1813-1817

Married, 1st, November 20, 1753, Isabella Bragdon, daughter of Jeremiah Samuel and Tabitha (Banks) Bragdon of York, Me. She was born April 8, 1731, and died October 19, 1759.

Issue:

1. *Rufus King*, b. March 24, 1755, d. April 29, 1827; of whom below.
2. Mary King, b. 1757, d. March 30, 1824. M. Dr. Robert Southgate.
3. Paulina King, m. Dr. Aaron Porter.

Married, 2d, January 31, 1762, Mary Black, daughter of Samuel and Isabella (Bragdon) Black of York, Me. She was born October 8, 1736, and died May 25, 1816; was a cousin of Mr. King's first wife, and was a sister of Tabitha Black, who married Stephen Longfellow, great-grandfather of Henry W. Longfellow.

Issue:

4. Richard King, b. December 22, 1762. M. Hannah Larrabee.
5. Isabella King, b. 1764, d. young.
6. Dorcas King, b. May 20, 1766. M. Joseph Leland.
7. William King, b. February 9, 1768, d. June 17, 1852. He resided in Bath, Me., where for half a century he was engaged in

mercantile business. From an early period of his life he was active and prominent in public affairs. He was an ardent advocate of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, presided over the convention which framed the Maine constitution, and was the first governor of the new state (1821). He served as United States commissioner for the adjustment of Spanish claims, was collector of the port of Bath, and held other offices under the federal and state governments. His statue stands in the Capitol at Washington, representing the state of Maine. For twenty-eight years he was one of the trustees of Bowdoin College. M. Ann Nesbeth Frazier.

8. Elizabeth King, b. January 7, 1770. M. Benjamin Jones Porter.

9. Cyrus King, b. September 6, 1772, d. April 25, 1817; graduated at Columbia College in 1794; accompanied his brother Rufus to England as his private secretary, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced his profession at Saco, Me. He was a representative in congress from May, 1813, to March, 1817, where his speeches on public questions were, says a contemporary, characterized by "splendor of language and a profusion of imagery." M. Hannah, daughter of Captain Seth and Olivia (Jordan) Storer.

II

RUFUS KING, eldest child of Richard and Isabella (Bragdon) King, was born in Scarborough, Me., March 24, 1755. He entered Harvard College in 1773 and was graduated with much distinction in 1777. He then began to prepare himself for the legal profession under the preceptorship of Theophilus Parsons, afterward chief-justice of Massachusetts. Thoroughly in sympathy with the patriotic cause in the struggle against Great Britain, he interrupted his legal studies to join a detachment of troops raised to assist General Sullivan in his attempt to retake Rhode Island, serving as major and aide on the staff of General Glover. This undertaking proved abortive, and he was discharged after a brief service. He was admitted to the bar of Massachusetts in 1780 and was engaged successfully in the practice of his profession until obliged to suspend it by his active connection with public affairs.

In 1783, at the age of twenty-eight, he was elected a member of the general court (legislature) of Massachusetts, from Newburyport, and in the next year he was sent as a delegate from that state to the continental congress, then sitting at Trenton, N. J. He at once manifested a remarkable capacity for the business of legislation, which, joined to his effective oratory, his accomplishments of mind and scholarship, and his conscientious devotion to duty, indicated him as one of the rising men of the time. He was annually reelected to congress until the federal constitution came into effect. At an early period of his service in that body he identified himself with the cause of anti-slavery by a practical effort of great significance. In April, 1784, Mr. Jefferson had introduced a resolution proposing that slavery should cease to exist in the Northwest Territory after 1800. This measure was not adopted. Mr. King, in 1785, offered a proposal that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the states described in the resolution of congress in April, 1784, other than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; that this resolve shall be made an article of compact and remain a fundamental principle of the constitution between the original states and each of the states named in the said resolve." The proposal was not acted on at the time, but two years later it was incorporated in the celebrated ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory, which was moved by Mr. King's colleague, Nathan Dane—the latter measure, however, containing a fugitive slave proviso that did not appear in the original resolution. Thus the credit for the first substantial action taken toward the restriction of slavery in the United States belongs in a large measure to Rufus King.

He was a representative from Massachusetts in the federal constitutional convention of 1787 (Philadelphia), bore a conspicuous part in its transactions, and was one of the committee on style which prepared the ultimate draft of

the constitution. At the Massachusetts state convention held in 1788 to consider the ratification of that instrument, his counsels and eloquence contributed materially to the favorable result.

Soon afterward Mr. King removed to New York, and in 1789 was chosen a member of the legislature of that state, where "he received the unexampled welcome of an immediate election, with General Schuyler, to the senate of the United States." Belonging to the political school of Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, he took a leading part in the championship of the principles and policies of the Federalist party. He was a warm defender of the much denounced Jay treaty with England, both on the floor of the senate and in the public press. Reelected to the senate in 1795, he resigned his seat the following year to accept the office of minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, by appointment from President Washington. In this position he continued under Presidents Adams and Jefferson until 1803, when he resigned and returned home. His services abroad resulted especially in important modifications of the commercial relations between the two countries, and greatly contributed to promote a better appreciation among foreign powers of the government and people of the United States.

After his return from England he lived for a number of years in retirement from public affairs. In November, 1805, he purchased a farm at Jamaica, Long Island. Here he removed with his family in May, 1806. He took delight in improving his property, was an enthusiastic agriculturist, and imported from England a fine herd of Devon cattle, with which he stocked his farm. One of the striking features of the present King Park at Jamaica is a magnificent oak, grown from an acorn which was planted with his own hand.

The exigencies of the second war with Great Britain again drew him into active political life. In 1813 he was for a

third time elected to the United States senate, and from that year until shortly before his death was continuously employed in public duties. He was nominated for the office of governor of New York, but was defeated, and also (1816) was the candidate of his party for the presidency of the United States, in opposition to James Monroe. His fourth election to the senate occurred in 1820. Though fully resolved to definitely retire to private life, he was persuaded by John Quincy Adams in 1825 to accept the post of minister to Great Britain, but after a year's service in that capacity failing health obliged him to resign. The closing year of his life was spent partly on his farm at Jamaica and partly in New York City. He died in New York on the 29th of April, 1827, and was buried in Grace churchyard at Jamaica, where his grave is marked by a plain marble stone inscribed simply with his name and the dates of his birth and death.

To the end of his career he adhered to the general political principles of his early life, which were expressed by the creed of the federalists. He was, however, a broad statesman, little regarding mere partisan tenets in the consideration of specific political questions and public requirements. A convinced opponent of the extension of slavery as an unrighteous institution, he was consistent in his frank antagonism to it from his first appearance in the continental congress at the age of thirty to his retirement from the United States senate at the age of seventy—a record left by probably no other “practical” statesman of the first order (if we except the noble John Jay) in that period. During his last senatorial term, while the bill for the admission of Missouri as a state with slavery was under discussion, he delivered a carefully prepared speech against the measure, in which the following often-quoted words occurred: “Mr. President, I have yet to learn that one man can make a slave of another. If one man cannot do so, no number of individuals can do it. And I hold that all laws

or compacts imposing any such condition upon any human being are absolutely void, because contrary to the law of nature, which is the law of God, by which he makes his way known to man and which is paramount to all human contracts."

But while inflexibly opposed to slavery on principle, and therefore to its extension beyond its prevailing limits, Mr. King was no advocate of violent measures of abolition in states where it already existed and where it was protected by local laws. He recognized that the existence of slavery in the older states had been acquiesced in by the whole country, and that it behooved all the states to bear the burden of gradual emancipation. Accordingly, as his last contribution to the service of his country, on February 18, 1825, he offered the following resolution, with these preliminary words as recorded:

"Mr. King of New York rose and said, in offering the resolution he was about to submit, though it was a subject of great national importance, he did not desire to debate it, nor did he offer it with a view to the present consideration. He submitted it as a matter for the future consideration of the senate and hoped it would be received, by all parts of the house, as one entitled to its serious attention. He then laid on the table the following resolution:

"Resolved, by the Senate of the United States of America, That as soon as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then, and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the net proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is pledged that the said fund shall be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of color, in any of the said states, as by the laws of the states, respectively, may be allowed to be emancipated, or removed to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America."

He was a member for many years of Trinity Church in New York City, and served as one of its vestrymen.

Mr. King married, March 30, 1786, Mary Alsop, only child of Hon. John and Mary (Frogat) Alsop of New York

City and Newtown, Long Island. She was born October 17, 1769, and died June 5, 1819. "At the time of his marriage," says the late Dean Hoffman, "he passed for the most eloquent man in the United States, but so modest that he appeared ignorant of his own worth," while his bride, "a most estimable lady, was remarkable for her personal beauty; her motions were all grace, her bearing gracious, her voice musical, and her education exceptional."

[The Alsop Family came from the village of Alsop in Derbyshire, England, having been settled in that country, says Burke in his "Encyclopedia of Heraldry," about the time of the conquest, and continuing in an uninterrupted descent for nineteen or twenty generations. It bore arms as follows: Sable, three doves rising argent, legged and beaked gules. Crest—a dove with wings expanded or, beaked and legged gules, holding in the beak an ear of wheat of the first.

The first of the name in America was *Richard Alsop*, who inherited from his uncle, Thomas Wandell, a large estate at Newtown, Long Island. Richard Alsop came to this country between 1670 and 1685, and d. October 17, 1718. He had by his wife Hannah (daughter of the "redoubtable" Captain John Underhill, she having been b. 1666, m. 1685 or 1686, and d. August 22, 1757) several children, one of whom was *John*.

John Alsop, son of Richard, was a lawyer at New Windsor, N. Y., d. July 8, 1761, aged sixty-four. He m., December, 1718, Abigail, daughter of Joseph Sackett; had two sons, *John* and *Richard*, both of whom became successful merchants.

Hon. John Alsop, son of the preceding, was b. at Middletown, Conn.; d. at Newtown, N. Y., November 22, 1794. He was an opulent merchant in New York, and was active and influential in promoting the resistance of the colonies to British oppression, being a member both of the provincial assembly of New York and the early continental congresses. "He was not in congress when the independence of the American colonies was declared, but at that time was a member of the New York convention, and on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the convention he resigned his seat." During the Revolution—New York City and Long Island being occupied by the British—he resided in Connecticut, but at its close returned to his home and was unanimously elected president of the reorganized Chamber of Commerce, "a certain testimony," says Mr. John Austin Stevens, "to the esteem in which he was held by his fellows and his undoubted fidelity and attachment to his native land." M., June 8, 1766, Mary Frogat, who d. April 14, 1772, aged twenty-eight, their only child being *Mary*, wife of Rufus King.]

Issue:

1. *John Alsop King*, b. January 3, 1788, d. at Jamaica, N. Y., July 7, 1867, of whom below.

2. Charles King, b. March 16, 1789, d. in Frascati, Italy, September 27, 1867.

3. Caroline King, b. May 3, 1790, d. September, 1793.

4. *James Gore King*, b. May 8, 1791, d. October 3, 1853; of whom below.

5. Henry King, b. July 1, 1792, d. September 3, 1792.

6. Edward King, b. March 13, 1795, d. at Cincinnati, O., February 6, 1836. He removed in early life to Ohio, where he became prominent at the bar; lived first at Chillicothe and then at Cincinnati; served as member of the Ohio legislature, and was for two terms speaker of the house. He was one of the notable men of his times in Ohio, distinguished for eloquence, a commanding figure at the bar, and the intimate friend and associate of Salmon P. Chase. M. Sarah Worthington, daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington of Ohio. Issue: i. Rufus King, also a prominent lawyer of Cincinnati. ii. Thomas Worthington King (issue).

7. Frederick Gore King, b. February 6, 1802, d. in New York City, April 24, 1829. He was graduated at Harvard in 1821, studied medicine in New York City, and received the degree of M.D. from Columbia College in 1824. Subsequently he continued his studies (especially in the department of anatomy) in Europe. Returning to New York he embarked upon a professional career which gave every promise of brilliant success, but which was terminated by death at the early age of twenty-seven. M. Emily Post, daughter of Wright Post, M.D.; no issue.

This article on the King Family by Mr. Spooner appeared a short time since. The Editor was aware that it made a part of the series in "Historic Families of America," but was not informed of its issue until it was in type for this Magazine. Considering the high cost of the book named and the general interest in the family treated it is permitted to remain as will its final sequel in the next number.—[EDITOR.]

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

A MILITARY RELIC OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE REVOLUTION

BY REGINALD PELHAM BOLTON

I HAVE recently come into possession of a manuscript Headquarters order book of 1781, which is of a very interesting character. It is 7 1-4 inches by 4 3-4 inches, evidently forming part of a pocket-book, such as a similar book of 1776, which is preserved by the New York Historical Society, and is in excellent preservation, though without covers.

The period concerned in the entries is from April 25, 1781, to August 2 of that year, a period when Sir Henry Clinton was commander-in-chief, and but shortly after the attempt at his capture by an American force in the previous winter, and it thus covers the time of those activities of the irregular American forces which preceded the advance, in July of that year, of the combined American and French forces on Kingsbridge & Morrisania. Here we have the Commanders daily orders, the daily passwords, and the promotions, exchanges, and punishments of various officers.

The headquarters moved back and forth between Staten Island, New York and Brooklyn, Sir Henry Clinton evidently being on the qui-vive for any possible attack in the threatened direction or via Staten Island.

Some entries with references of interest are as follows:

Head Quars Roubalet* New York 26th April 1781

*Roubalet kept the old City Tavern (the Province Arms, City Arms, City Tavern), so called because its sign carried the arms of the City and Colony—which were similar.—[Editor.]

ORDERS

"The Field Officers who were on the Expedition to Charlestown are desired to meet at Robelets Tavern to Morrow Morning at 11 O'clock."

THE EXPEDITION OF MAY 1781

"Head Quarters New York. 1st May 1781

ORDERS

"The Troops now embarked will report to, and put themselves under the Command of Colonel De Voit."

GENL PATERSON'S REMINDER

Head Quars Staten Island. 6. May 1781
General Paterson expects that the Brigade Orders of the 30th Decr. last is more particularly attended to.

NEW YORK CITY HALL

Head Quars New York 7th May 1781

ORDERS

The General Court Martial of which Major Breese, of the 54th Regt is President, will assemble at 10 O'clock to Morrow Morning at the City Hall in New York."

ARMORERS WANTED.

"Head Quars New York 15th May 1781

ORDERS

A Return to be given in on Thursday morning next to the Adjutant General's Office from the several Regiments of the number of Armourers they have, who are Sufficiently qualified to repair Arms."

CORLEAR'S HOOK BATTERY. SAME DATE.

"AFTER ORDERS

The different Posts are informed that the Artillery will practice at Corlier's Hook Every Morning till further orders."

JAMAICA

“Head Quarters, New York 16th May 1781

ORDERS

The Kings American Dragoons are to be quartered at Jamaica on Long Island, and will receive their Orders from Major Genl De Reidesel.

THE BRITISH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN

“Head Quarters New York 20 May 1781

MORNING ORDERS

“By a Vessel arrived this Morning from Charlestown, the Commander in Chief has received the following account from Lieut Col Balfour, which he has the Satisfaction to announce to the Army.

On the 19th April, General Greene, with about 1400 Continentals, and a body of militia, came before Camden, where he continued changing his Position until the 25th, in the Morning of which Lord Rawdon with the greatest part of his Garrison, upward of 800 march'd out, and about 10 O'clock attacked him in his Camp at Hobkirks Hall, with that Conduct and spirit, which claimed the Victory he gained, tho' long contested, and against superiour Numbers, especially of Cavalry—the enemys advantage in which hinder'd the pursuit being continued further than three Miles, and enabled them to take off their Cannon, which they at first preservd by drawing out of the road into thickets where they escaped the Troops Eager in pursuit of the flying Rebels

The Enemys loss on this occasion is Estimated by Lord Rawdon at about 500 men, and his own about 200, in which is one Officer killed, and eleven wounded but not dangerously—”

OLIVER DE LANCEY'S PROMOTION

"Head Quars New York 24 May 1781

Major Delancey of the 17th Light Dragoons, is appointed to act as Adjutant General till further Orders"

"BATT & FORAGE"

"Head Quars New York 31st May 1781

"His Excellency the Commamr in Chief, has been pleased to order that the usual returns for two hundred-days, Bat, and Forage money be given in to the Quarter Master Generals office by the 7 June 1781."

KINGS COLLEGE USED AS A HOSPITAL

Head Quarters New York 7th June 1781

The Hospital boards will for the future meet at 9 Oclock every Monday Morning at the College Hospital

HOW THE HORSES FARED.

Head Quars New York 11th June 1781

The following Alteration in the Ration of Oats is to take place immediately—

The Saddle Horses of Generals and publick

Staff Officers 8 lb

Cavalry 8 lb

Waggon horses on a march 6 lb

At other times 4 lb

The Regimental Horses the same as the Waggon Horses."

THE BOWRY & M'GOWN'S PASS.

12 June 1781. Among the dispositions of troops to be encamped are,

"The four Battres of Hessian Grenadiers in the Bowry near New York"

"The Regt DuCorps upon the left, and the Regiment of Prince Charles on the right of M'Gowans Pass."

THE TROOPS BEDDING

"The Troops on their arrival at their ground will apply to the Commissary who will furnish them with Straw or Hay for the Tents."

TRIAL OF LT COL BARTON.

"24 June 2781. Prisoners tryed by the General Court Martial of which Lt Col Gunning 82nd is President."

Lt Col. Barton was in command of the 1st Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, and was accused by Brigadier General Skinner of "neglect of duty, disobedience of Orders, and ungentlemanlike behaviour."

The Colonel was charged with having left his duty as field officer of the day on Staten Island, for a trip to Bergen Point, of which he was found guilty and of an impropriety of conduct in entering into an agreement to build the Frame of a House for a Merchant in New York, & this was considered reprehensible, though not "ungentlemanlike," & for these two findings he was ordered to be reprimanded "by such Persons in such manner as His Excellency the Commander in Chief shall be pleased to direct"

Of the charges he was acquitted, including nonpayment of entire bounty money to some of his men, Employments of Soldiers at work at Bergen Point, contrary to orders, failing to make full returns of persons taken by his corps, "the transactions relative to some Geese stolen by a Soldier of the 1st Battn from Houseman an Inhabitant of Staten Island," though we do not learn how the Colonel was mixed up in this characteristic affair.

He was charged with neglect in not punishing Serjeant Bowen, and Private Vileass who had deserted the corps, and with permitting his officers to go off to the City when their "Tour for duty" came

due, but for these actions he gave good excuses, and so was acquitted.

A more serious charge was an "Erazure made in the usual place of signature in the Return of Prisoners taken from the Enemy by the 1st Battalion," which the Court "after the most critical enquiry" could not give an opinion as to when and by whom it had been made."

Apparently, in face of such a list of delinquencies, Colonel Barton got off pretty easily.

BENEDICT ARNOLD 2 JULY 1781

The receipt of a letter from Lord George Germaine is announced, from which an extract is given in acknowledgement of the services of the Expedition under Arnold to the Chesapeake—

"I have received," says the Secretary "the King's Commands to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you do acquaint Brigr General Arnold, Lieut Colo Dundas, Lieut Colo. Simcoe and the other Officers and Soldiers under his Command that their conduct and behaviour are approved by His Majesty"—

FORT WASHINGTON. "22 JULY 1781.

The Commandr in Chief having thought it necessary that a Field Officer should reside in Fort Mifflin as Commandant—His Excellency Lieut General Mifflin, has been pleased to name Lieut Colo de Henthe for that duty"

A very unpleasant change for von Hinte from the comfortable Morris house, since von Krafft in his Diary describes the life in the Fort on July 14, as "execrable" The latter tells us of von Hinte's first orders in the fort; to repair the two front bastions, the remains of which may still be seen there.

A THOUGHTFUL PROVISION IN SUMMER 1 AUGUST 1781

The Commandr in Chief desires that all Sentries may be placed as much as possible out of the Sun during the heat of the day”.

THE VALUE OF MONEY

A common entry of a sum of money in currency value, amounting by various items to 416 pounds

Eight shillings and sixpence is made, with the following computation of its value in Sterling.

“£400-0-0 Currency is 225-0-0 Sterling

16-0-0 Do is 9-0-0

\$-8-0 Do is 4-6

4

no more 27 of 1781

So that all it represented was £234-4-10

And with this significant entry the last page, thus preserved, closes—

COLONIAL LETTERS

FROM UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MAGAZINE OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

CAPTAIN BERNON TO GOVERNOR DUDLEY

COMMUNICATED BY JEREMIAH COLBURN

Translated from the French

NEWPORT on Road Island the 27 July 1702: Sir,
According to the order of your Excellency I
had my commission read at the head of my
company; I assured our settlers (*habitants*)
that I did not look upon them as soldiers but
as my friends, that I had only taken the commission that
there might be a head for our plantation; that I consider
myself the most interested in, and the most attached to the
plantation; they seem to be very much obliged to your Ex-
cellency. I told them that there must be a palisade around
my house for a garrison, it makes a separation from the
mowers. I assure your Excellency that I will arrange
everything to the best advantage of the place, so that it will
assuredly result to the profit of your Excellency of my own
and of our people in general. Colonel Romer left Saturday
for York; he believes that your Excellency has it at heart
to complete the chateau. He proposes to leave Boston the
work being finished. In case of danger at New Oxford the
Providence people are the most likely to give us assistance.
I have spoken to your Excellency of Captain Arnel and of
Lieutenant Wilkinson, as the two best and most generous
men that I have found in the country; they are worthy
of the esteem and the friendship of good people. When I

took leave of Madame the governess she told me to take information about horses for your Excellency. I have made enquiries, but I hardly know what kind your Excellency wishes; I think Mr Lion Arnel of Cananicot the best man to make a good selection; and the most inclined to oblige your excellency. I recommend him. However I congratulate myself on the pleasure I have to say with what profound respect I am of your Excellency the very humble, the very affectionate and the very obedient servant

GABRIEL BERNON

PHILIP SQUIRE TO MRS ELIZABETH SQUIRE OF ASHFORD
CONNECTICUT

COMMUNICATED BY FRANK SQUIRE

Louisbourg Aprill ye 14th 1746 Honrd Mother These Come with unfeigned Respects to Let you Know that I am in Good Health & prosperity throu ye Divine Goodness Wishing ye same to you & ye Rest of our family I think it hard yt I Have Not Receved So much as a Line from you or any of our friends att Ashford Since I have bin at Cape-briton but I Have heard from others. that you are well & our friends in General I Have Sent you a Leter by Capt Done of Connecticut wheather you have Received it I Cant tel but Doutles you Have Heard of ye Distresing Sickness amongst us ye winter Past & ye Los of our Capt & a grate part of our men our Company which was att first 92 is is Now Reduced to 45 Small number & some of ym Sickly our Ashford men are all well Except. Eastman & I hope he is not Dangrous we are in Daylie Expectation of being Relieved & Expect to Return Home in a veary short time, I Desire my Brother to plant as much as you can for I Expect to be att Home in a short time & if Brother Bosworth will take ye Place as he took it ye Last year Lt him take it if not take as prudent Care of things as you Can til I Come

home one thing I forgot uncle Daniel fuller is Dead No more
att preasent But I Subscribe my self your Dutifull Son

PHILIP SQUIRE

MAJOR ROGER MORRIS TO MR JOHN THOMPSON
MASTER OF THE TRANSPORT SCHOONER PEGGY & SARAH

COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT

Fort Frederick March 11th 1759 As you have deliver'd
your cargo of Provisions & taken a proper certificate from
the Commissary; you are hereby order'd to Proceed to Bos-
ton, & acquaint Thomas Hancock Esqr of your arrival that
you may be discharged the Service

ROGER MORRIS

Major of the (35th) Regt

CLINTON PAPERS

COMMUNICATED BY FRANK MOORE

Elizabeth Clinton to Lt Col Charles Clinton of the New
York Regiment at Fort Herkimer at the General Flatts

July the 27th 1758. DR HUSBAND—I Almost Seem Indif-
ferent About Writing to you, as my Letters Or Yours, Or
likely Both are dreadfully miscarried, for You have never
mentioned the Receiving any of my letters in Any of Yours
Yet! nor have I Received any from You Since of the 26th
of June, tho' I have Since wrote to You, and likewise Wrote
to You Shortly before it— The Melancholly News, we have
here of Our Army being repulsed in Their Design Against
Ticonderoga, And their loosing as we have the Account in
Our Newspapers 1615 men Inclusive of 90 Officers, makes
us very Desireous to hear a particular Account of it from
You As We Have Yet had None. We hear here that in
time of the Action You was posted at the German flats and
that there was but One Batallion of the New York and Jer-
sey Forces in the Action, Only Thirty of whom we hear are

Killed, and that Capt'n Seely's Company and three more were Some Distance from the Rest of the Army Guarding the Battoos So that it is most likely—James was not in it either. But we have heard that Since Our Army Retreated to their Encampment. You have Been Ordered there Every Body here longs to hear particularly How that Affair was with Our Army and their Intent About pursuing Their Former Design I have nothing here very material to acquaint you of as you are Where the Chief of Our News Comes from Only The Inhabitants On Our frontiers were Daily moving when Our Blockhouse men Were Called Up to Albany from us. But are again I Believe Since their Return Settling On their plantations. We have had no very late Damage Done near us But seem to Enjoy Peace at present as it is now most to Be Desired When the Country Are All Buisy with their Harvest we have finished Some Part of Ours and are Buisy with the Rest Our Neighbours have Been Good in Helping us in these times When there are no hands To Be Got in the Country but the Assistance of the Neighbours one To Another Our Other Work and Summer Fallow seem to be as forward as Our Neighbours We have had no later Account from the vessel George is in than that of 5 or 6 weeks Ago which was that she was seen and the Crew well on board I Mentioned in my last which I ordered Charles to write and send by the Post when he went Down to New York which he likewise Did but perhaps. You have not Received it that I would Acquaint You how he Succeeded in Getting Out Letters of Administration in James McClaghry's name as James had Been himself down About it and Applied to Mr Godly On that head but he would not Grant him Out Letters As he said Because John McClaghry's Evidence who was the Only Evidence went Down Then was not Sufficient to Grant Out Letters of Administration by and that he must examine the other Evidence before he could Determine what to Do in it whereupon as John McClaghry and John Davis both the Evidences

Were Going to follow their trade in New York Charles Went to James and spoke to him About it when he advised Charles to go to New York and Get Davis Examined and bring up the Letters If he could Get them As he said his Business Would not permit him to Go then, Charles Went And by James's Directions and his own Opinion as he was likewise with James at First he applyed wholly to Mr. Banyar Who Readily Granted him Out the Letters of Administration Upon which When he Came home he Took a Letter from James De Kain Desiring him to Deliver the Charles the Deed but he Refused it. James has not been there Yet But Intends to Go After Harvest James likewise Desired Charles renting the place to Ask Kain's Opinion in it As his Daughter was Concerned in The third of the Income of it as Upon that account he thought he Might be Assistful

But after a Great Many Reflections he Refused his or his daughters saying any thing in it, but said, As we had All the rest of the Estate in Little Britain We might take that too but at last give his Opinion to let Cox have the place for five pound this year which favourable Rent Sprung from the friendship subsisting Between two Rogues Kain and Cox as Charles understood by Coxe's Lies which he said was from Us to Kain about the place and which no Doubt Kain as Wellcomely Received, and from Coxes Consenting to Give Just As Much as Kain mentioned But I Believe Charles Must let Cox have it for that this year but no longer As If he Would not the place Would be without Any Body on it this year and it is now too Late in the Year to Get Another tenant

Our family is Well and Joyn Me in My Love to You and Tommy and so conclude Your Affectionate Wife

ELIZABETH CLINTON

Excuse haste and the brokenness of my Letter

To the Care of the Worshippil Sylvant G. Vanskack
Esqr Major of Albany

CHARLES CLINTON JR TO CAPT JAMES CLINTON OF THE NEW
YORK PROVINCIALS AT OSWEGO OR ELSEWHERE

New York. July the 7th 1759 DR BROTHER I received Yours of the 16th of June last by one Swindy in Town, but believe it came by John Pettit, by whom I shall send this. I am glad to hear you are well and shall always be very glad To hear from you as the Distance between us deprives us of any other Way of conversing together, and the Dangers of a military Station make us more desirous of hearing of your Welfare. I enjoy my Health pretty well, as does my Mother who is here and all our Family when she left Home, but George who is not rightly recovered of the Measles but is getting Better. He took them soon after you left Home, and had them bad, but since he got up out of them my Father writes me he got cold, which brought him very low. My Mother's coming here is to nurse me in the small Pox? for which I am to inoculate to Morrow. I have not had a Line from you but this, and but very little Amount only what my Father writes me. he had, by a Letter he received from you about a Month ago and from Mr Egbort Dumond by a Letter he received from his Brother Peter Lately, that you was then at Bulls Fort where you dated this Letter and intended for Oswego soon, that he was chosen fro the Expedition you mention, but did not learn whether you was to go or not, only as it was most probable you would as your Lieut'' did—in which undertaking and all your attempts I hope God will be with you to keep you from Danger and grant you Success, that you may return with Honour and Safety to your own. I should be glad you would write by every opportunity and I shall do the same, tho you may have more to write than I can, but shall still be willing to show my Fondness of hearing from you, I must be in Haste lest I should miss the Opportunity of sending this— My Mother sends you her Love and Blessing

wishing you all Happiness and Success and your safe Return in the Mean Time conclude Your Affectionate Brother

CHARS CLINTON JUR

P. S. I could wish you had sent me word what Battalion you were of, that I might have directed my Letter accordingly, and hope you will in the next—

All Friends here are well & desire to be remembered

CHARLES CLINTON TO JAMES CLINTON

——— 1760

Sunday Morning DR SON. Your Brother George has kept his bed since he took Ill at John Young's, his fever at first seem'd to Intermit Regularly, he took the Bark for it but it Did not break it, It has Abated So that he has very Little of the fever *and* it lingers away I hope he will in a Little time get over it. He has Lost a good deal of his flesh by it—

I have attend Newkirk's training, Capn Neelly's Capn Graham's and Capn Hardenbergh's at the Last I enlisted, '3 at Newkirk's Dal int Bride and Another little Boy Scraw Passable. At Neelly's, Widdow Neelly's Son Mr Stewart had The offer of 30s a year to teach School and Seem'd Unwilling to go, as the people Gave no Encouragement, I asked him if I should Get him Some Would be willing he said he would, I Raised About 58£ and he took it is ———. McCollum Expects to Go Serjeant he has Inlisted one James in Claghry Attended Capn Boulans Training Inlisted Ogdon And Devee told him he would go or send a man in his place he also Inlisted Coatty John Neelly's Son there is not the half of the men yet Inlisted I do not know how many Mr Rurdy has got but he has been Constantly through the Regiment and as neither of you were able to attend he had the Greater Opportunity but I believe he has not Above thirty as near as I can hear— Capn Sinedos has Inlisted his Old Quota Except two or three himself, and has prom-

ised them the twenty Shillings that the Inlisting Officer is Intitled to by the Governours proclamation, it seems the Act of Assembly is so made, which Thing has in A Great Measure prevented the Inlisting of the men. for at Capn Graham's Training Mathew Ray went About to Inlist and offer'd Every man 3 Dollars and got Some to List for it, but I would not offer that therefore got none, Twenty Shillings of that was the *Listing* money, and the Company gave only the other 4s We have appointed a General training on Tuesday Next at Nicholl's—to-morrow the Major and I are to Meet Col Hardenbergh at the *paloz* to Settle the Quota's of Each Regiment, I have not had time to go to see you or do my Self any Service for this Affair, as it has happen'd with you and George I could wish you had not thought of going but who Can know before hand what shall happen All that Can be Done now is only mannage matters as well as You Can under the present Circumstance's I am Your Affec Father

CHAR. CLINTON.

The Reason of appointing the General Training so soon was to have another next Saturday *If need full*—

CHARLES CLINTON TO JAMES CLINTON

Second New York Regiment at Albany or Elsewhere

May 27. 1760. DR SON I heard nothing from You Since You Left New Windsor, I went no further than Haverstraw when I mustered the men of orange County Captn Howell took Down the Major Rolls—we hear a Report here that Quebeck is taken it is more Generally believed in New York there when You Left it you will Soon hear the truth of it, there is Such Different Reports, here that we do not know what to credit. I hope you or George will write by Mr Jackson who brings up Capn Howell's men a full account of your Voyage up and when you are to proceed from Albany and what the Destination of Your Regiment is—

and what you hear Relating to Quebeck and the preparations the french are making for the Ensuing Campain— We have no forraign news in our last papers, I do not See there is any thing further mentioned about. If Quebeck be taken you have work enough cut out for this Campaign. All friends here are well there is no alteration Since you Left this therefore I have nothing material to write I am your Affectionate father

Followed by

CHAR. CLINTON

Your Mother and Catty remember their Love to you and George, tell him he must not forget to write frequently to me. If he has not a Direct opportunity Coming here to write by post to New York to his brothers Care. I send this by William Bole who goes with Capn Howel, Spring-sleen is not taken yet.

CHARLES CLINTON TO CHARLES CLINTON JR SURGEON AT
FORT PITT

COMMUNICATED BY MARY E. BLEECKER

Little Britain January the 28. 1764 DR SON I Received a Letter from you, dated the 12th of November, at Fort Pitt,—am very Glad to hear You Enjoy Health. I understand You are Weary of Your Station there, that You have wrote a letter to George, wherein You have given Directions how I should proceed to procure you leave to quit Your post,—he has not Received that Letter yet. He lives this Winter at home to Study, but has been Lately at New York, and got the Letter I have mentioned I Received, in the post office. I hope the Indian War will soon be Over, for by the last paper I understand the Indians are very Desiorous to obtain a peace.

If You are not Soon Relieved (which I Expect) I will use any prudent means You will direct to get you leave to quit your place. I was last fall in New York, met Mr Mid-

dleton in the Street, and another Gentleman with him, to whom he told I was your father;—he asked me when I heard from you. Dr Middleton told me he was One of the Doctors of the Hospital, but did not tell me his name, (as I Remember)— I told him I understood you were Weary of the Station You were in,—he said he would see you should be Relieved in a little time. If I had then known You were so Weary of your place, I would have urged the Matter further, but if you Continue of the same mind you Express in your letter, I will, in the Spring use All the Interest I can to get you Leave to Return to the Hospital here, or to be Dismissed.

General Amherst is gone home, and Gen'l Gage is come to New York, who Succeeds him, and Lieut. Governour Colden is now in the administration (all which I suppose you know) who will be Willing to do me a Kindness if it lies in his Way. Make your Self as Easy Under your present Circumstances as you Can. I hope things will turn out for the best; be sure to write constantly by Every Opportunity. I have had several letters from you, but do not understand you have Received the Letters I sent you. All friends here are well. Your Mother and brothers send their Love to you, Your Brother James is again in the Service, there was 300 men Raised Last fall to guard the Western frontiers. He is Capt'n Commandant of the Whole.

I have Nothing further to add, but would Remind you to Keep up Your Spirits, and Let Nothing deject you. 'Tis the Only Way to Over come Difficulties, to bear them with Resolution and Courage. I am Confident the Affair is Almost Over with the Indians, as I am Informed they are, in a very Dejected Manner, sueing for peace— I am, Dr Son, Your Affectionate Father

CHAR CLINTON.

On his Majesties' Service

Thess

BEVERLEY ROBINSON TO HENRY VAN SCHAACK

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY CRUGER VAN SCHAACK

Highlands, May 14th, 1771—SIR, I am informed that you are again settled at Kinderhook, and in a way of doing something for yourself, which gives me great pleasure, as you will always have my hearty good wishes.

As you are among my old friends & acquaintances, I must desire you will apply to them in my behalf to bestow a little of their generosity on our poor & scattered neighbourhood. The case is this. We are attempting to build a Church in this neighbourhood, but find we are so few in number & so poor in abilities that we cannot go on with it without the charitable assistance of others, & therefore apply to you to endeavor to get us a few boards among my friends at Kinderhook, either inch or inch and a half; we must have both sorts. Twenty or thirty boards per man will soon make up the number we want.

Pray write me a line by the Post whether there is a probability of getting any or no, and you will much oblige
ye friend.

BEV. ROBINSON.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

NARRATIVE OF THE DUKE DE LAUZUN

Visit to France—Return to America—Final Departure
1781—1782

Translated from his Memoirs for the American Historical Magazine

M de Rochambeau selected me to carry the great news (the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781) to France and sent for me. I was not anxious to return to Europe; I advised him to send M de Charlus by which he would make his peace with M de Castries and perhaps secure the better treatment for his army. I could not persuade him; he said to me that I had been first in action and to me it fell to carry the news; Count Guillaume de Deux Ponts was the second and should carry the details. Count de Charlus never forgave him nor me either. I embarked on the King's Frigate *La Surveillante* and after a passage of twenty-two days arrived at Brest and went up to Versailles without loss of time.

Arrived at Versailles I found M de Maurepas on his death bed, he was hardly conscious, he recognized me nevertheless and received me in a most touching manner. He recommended me earnestly to the King and his ministers who promised to put into execution what it was his intention to do for me. He died the day after the next and M de Castries and M de Segur treated me as badly as they could.

My news delighted the King extremely. I found him in the Queen's apartments: he put me numerous questions
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and said many kind things to me. He asked me if I proposed to return to America I answered yes: he added that I might assure his army that it would receive great favors: greater than any other had ever received. M de Segur was present. I replied that I would be ready to carry the favors (*les graces*) to America in fifteen days—I advised M de Segur to study the subject at once with the King: he said to me that he wished to wait the arrival of the Count Guillaume de Deux Points, showed no haste in the matter, at last studied it with the King and informed me that I should leave for Brest the next week. I asked to see the distribution of favors which I should carry: he would not allow it: I learned from the bureaux that the army was shabbily treated.

I could judge well enough from my own case what M de Segur called a *grande grace* a great reward was to write me in the King's name: that in consideration of my services in America his Majesty allowed me to retain my regiment of Hussars and to have the command for life: this was a little less than the engagements made with me at the beginning of the war as I was to have the proprietorship of the first regiment of Horse vacant or to be raised and less than I was then enjoying for I was Inspector of my corps. I declined to carry the favors (*graces*) M de Segur was shocked about which I troubled myself very little. M de Castries treated me even worse: instead of sending me the four hundred men of my regiment left behind at Brest he had despatched them to the conquest of the forts Demerary and Annamaboo in Africa and had them left there in garrison till the Peace, in this the most unhealthy place in the universe: this was a plain enough announcement that the intention was to deprive me of every means of being of useful service. M de Castries moreover granted no favors to my regiment, not even to those officers whose actions had been the most brilliant * * * *

M de Segur in the disagreeable manner he so well under-

stood wished me to return three months sooner than it was necessary—I did not dare to press my demand too much to wait for the second Frigate but it would have been an easy matter—Every one was revolted at the manner in which the Ministers treated me.

I arrived at Brest the day the English Squadron appeared: that however did not prevent the Indies Convoy from going out the day after the next and being captured within the twenty-four hours * We remained a long time at Brest successively shut in by the winds and the English. *

We finally left Brest the 17th of May in very uncertain weather and almost in sight of the English; we were caught in the mouth of the Channel in a terrible gale of wind: we were four days on the point of being captured and dashed on the coast. * * * We put in to the river of Nantes our frigate being badly damaged. The Captain of La Gloire sent a courier to M de Castries to report and to say that he should sail for the Orient as soon as the wind favored—we were at Nantes * * * I went to La Rochelle to see M de Voyer and returned to L'Orient to regain my sad frigate— Our frigate received orders to sail for Rochefort to join L'Aigle and sail in company with her. I returned by land.

We waited for M de la Fayette whose political business kept him at the Court three weeks; he sent me word he should not come. M de la Touche offered me his stateroom which I accepted.

We sailed from La Rochelle on the 14th of July. The next day the French frigate La Ceres ran foul of us; she did us a great deal of damage and came near doing us a great deal more—sickness set in upon our crew: every day some of our men died and the need of refreshments for our sick forced us to put in at Terceira one of the Azores. I never saw stranger manners and a droller mixture of love for God with the other kind. After taking in beef vegeta-

bles and water we set sail. Talking one day with M de Bozen who was also on board L'Aigle he spoke of Madame de Coigny and her charms * * * (he fell ill and was delirious for days) I had been ill twelve days when in the night we fell in with a seventy-four with which we were forced to engage. My stateroom was taken down I was carried on deck more dead than alive. For three hours I was witness of a very lively engagement. We were constantly fighting at pistol range and at last we beat off the English vessel after being twenty times on the point of being destroyed. We had twenty men killed on our deck. The English vessel was so severely handled that we might easily have taken her if we had not seen on the horizon a number of vessels coming down upon her. This vessel was L'Hector a French seventy-four captured from M de Grasse by Admiral Rodney; she went down some days after on the banks of Newfoundland, and saved her crew with great difficulty: we had killed more than one hundred and fifty of her men.

The next day I was more ill than ever. Eight days after our combat we arrived on the American coast at the mouth of the Delaware being difficult and dangerous. Our boat was swamped in a gale of wind and nearly all on her were lost. No pilots came to us; but at day light we saw an English Squadron of seven men of war bearing down upon us full sail; we were compelled to raise anchor and enter the river without a pilot. At last the boat of La Gloire came to us she had met with no accident and brought us pilots. We learned from them that we were in the wrong channel and lost beyond help—M de la Touche went two leagues further up the channel and seeing that the case was hopeless determined to send on shore the court despatches, the money and passengers—M de la Touche ran his vessel ashore the next day, cut his masts did all that he could to render his vessel useless to the English and was captured. La Gloire which drew less water after being long time

aground got through at last and arrived safely at Philadelphia. We were set ashore about a league from any habitation without having brought off a single shirt. I still had the fever and could hardly stand and should never have reached a house without the help of a powerful negro who gave me his arm. As soon as we had made the money safe I journeyed slowly towards Philadelphia; my fever had become a slow fever I fainted constantly; the French and American doctors agreed that I would die before the autumn—A vessel left for Europe I had the chance to write to Madame de Coigny which did me infinite good. The doctors had declared that it was impossible that I should think of joining the army when M de Rochambeau sent one of his aides de camp with letters to the Chevalier de la Luzerne and wrote to me to make every effort to come to camp, that he had things of the greatest importance to communicate—I made up my mind without taking any advice; I got on horseback and left for the camp; as well die on the road as in Philadelphia—the journey did me good. I was already much better when I reached headquarters. M de Rochambeau received me with pleasure he told me that the bulk of his army was going to Boston to embark that he should leave some troops in America and that he himself should return to France and he would give me the command of his troops.

The army broke camp ten or twelve days after; I recrossed the North river and took up my winter quarters in Delaware county. My health was restored all I wanted was letters and none came. The Frigate La Dame finally arrived. I learned from her many misfortunes * * * M de Voyer was dead I had lost Madame Dillon (Edouard) my unfortunate friend had lost all he had in the world (the prince de Guemenee—his mistress (Madame Dillon) his honor his fortune that of his children that of many others; all lost at once; perhaps I had nothing left myself, which troubled me the least. I was on the point of leaving every-

thing to join the unfortunate M de Guemenée where ever he might be; considerations too long to explain here detained me.*

No letters either from Madame de Guemenée nor from my business agents; no details of the terrible news.

Such was my cruel situation when M de Rochambeau left for France * * * I wrote to M de Guemenée that he had one friend left on whom he might absolutely rely.

The noise of Philadelphia was insupportable to me—I wished to get out of it— A journey to Rhode Island united the advantages of bringing me nearer to letters which would probably arrive at the northward and of seeing once there the charming family (Hunters of Newport) who were so attached to me— I left therefore notwithstanding the severity of the season. They were inexpressibly delighted to see me at Newport: I saw no one there: I led a peaceful life and they took the greatest care of me.

While I was at Newport towards the middle of the month of March the American packet Washington arrived from France at Philadelphia The Baron de Foks my aid de camp brought me my letters to Newport.

The letters brought by the Washington said that peace was as distant as ever—Eight days later I learned by way of New York that it was made— I left Newport; it was not without regret and with much feeling—

I passed some days with General Washington and returned to Philadelphia.

The Frigate Active brought me orders there to bring home to France the remainder of the French army * * * I

NOTE.—At the time of Lauzun's embarrassments in 1776 he had turned over all of his fortune to the Prince de Guemenée who paid his debts and gave him a yearly income from the remainder en rente viagère— The Prince de Guemenée had now failed for an enormous sum more the most scandalous bankruptcy of the age.—[EDITOR.]

received at the same time a letter from Madame de Coigny of the 22 september 1782; It was decreed apparently that all the letters I should receive from her must be five months after their date.

I lost no time in embarking the troops and the 11th March 1783 we sailed from Washington for France.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PROCEEDINGS

The New York Historical Society held a stated meeting in its new building (Central Park West) on Tuesday, June 4th, 1907, at three P. M., in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Committee, who had invited Mr. Dexter to be present as their guest. At the request of the President, and as an act of courtesy to Mr. Dexter, he was requested to call the meeting to order, after which the President assumed the chair. On behalf of the Domestic Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary read letters from the Right Hon. James Bryce, and the Secretary of the Hispanic Society accepting the honorary membership to which they were elected at the last meeting. The President then announced that there would be no report from the Librarian, he being detained at home by serious illness, and announced the remarkable fact that this was only the second absence of Mr. Kelby from his post in thirty-nine years of service.

The lecturer for the afternoon, Miss Emily Halsey Suydam, was then introduced by the President, who called attention to the fact that it was a happy coincidence that the first regular lecture should be delivered in the new building by a near relative of Mr. John Alsop King, the President of the Society, when the land on which the new building stands was purchased. The subject of the paper was "The Island of Guam and its People," with stereoptican illustrations.

The President then announced the following gifts to the Society: From Miss Leonora S. Smith, a collection of

Egyptian antiquities belonging to our late member, Mr. Edwin L. Smith; a portrait of the late John S. Giles from Mrs. Francis M. Gibson through his grandson, Mr. Stephen W. Giles; a tablet from Mr. J. Charles Engle, erected by the Whigs and Conservatives to commemorate their glorious triumph in 1838, also from Mr. Isaac J. Greenwood, a member of the Executive Committee, his collection of colored drawings representing principally American Colonial and Revolutionary Powder Horns by Rufus A. Grider.

In response to the invitation of the N. Y. Academy of Sciences, the President represented the New York Historical Society and accepted the key of the box which was deposited behind the tablet on the Memorial Bridge in the Bronx. The inscription on the tag attached to the key reads:

Key for Box Put in the back of tablet at Linnaeus Bridge May 23, 1907, at 4:30 P. M. By the New York Academy of Sciences.

To be opened May 23, 1957, on the 250th Anniversary of the Birthday of Carl Von Linne.

It was then resolved that when the Society adjourns it adjourns to meet on Tuesday, October 1st, 1907, at 8:30 P. M., in the Hall of the New Building, subject to call for a special meeting by the Executive Committee.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The annual meeting was held May 13, 1907, the President, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker in the chair. Mr. Joseph S. Harris read a paper entitled "The History of Jacob Taylor, Surveyor-General and Almanac Maker, and of his brother Isaac Taylor." The following were elected officers of the Society for the current year:

President, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D. Honorary Vice-Presidents, Hon. Craig Biddle, Henry C. Lea. Vice-Presidents, (to serve three years) William Brooke Rawle, George Harrison Fisher. (For the unexpired term

of Henry C. Lea.) John Frederick Lewis. Recording Secretary, Thomas Willing Balch. Corresponding Secretary, John Bach McMaster. Treasurer, Francis H. Williams. Auditor, Richard M. Chadwalader. Councillors, (to serve four years) John T. Morris, John C. Browne, Simon Gratz. (For the unexpired term of John B. Gest.) Hon. William P. Potter.

Dr. Jordan, the Librarian, announced that two rare imprints of Andrew Bradford had been added to the American department:

.....
 : THE'
 : PSALTER'
 : or'
 : Pfalms of DAVID'
 : Being a proper Introduction for the'
 : Training up Children to the Reading'
 : of the HOLY SCRIPTURES.'
 :

.....
 : (Coat of Arms)
 :

.....
 : PHILADELPHIA.'
 : Printed and Sold by Andrew Bradford'
 : at the Sign of the BIBLE.'
 :

.....
 : (Coat of Arms)
 :

.....
 : The Pennsylvania'
 : Almanack,'
 : For the Year of Chriftian Account'
 : 1 7 3 6.'
 : Fitted to the Latitude of 40 Degrees,'
 : and a Meridian of 5 Hours Weft from London.'
 :

.....
 : By T. GODFREY.'
 :

.....
 : Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Andrew'
 : Bradford, Poft-Mafter, in Second ftreet.'
 :

"The Psalter," was apparently unknown to the late Mr. Hildeburn, and "The Pennsylvania Almanack," by Thomas Godfrey, only through the advertisement of its publisher. Godfrey had compiled for Franklin and Meredith sheet almanacs, "after the London Manner" for the years 1730-1732, before editing Bradford's "Pennsylvania Almanack" 1733-1736. A transposition of the Penn arms from the centre to the top of the title page of the Almanac, was made in issue of 1736.

"The Psalter" is 6 x 4, and has appended "The Nicene Creed" and "Grace before Meat" and "Grace after Meat."

The Maine Historical Society took possession of its new and commodious new building, situated at the rear of the old Longfellow house in Portland on Monday the 27th Feb. A dedication was made in the afternoon, and addresses given by the President of the Society, the Hon. James G. Baxter, historical papers read by the Rev. Dr. John C. Perkins, the Hon. Augustus F. Moulton and the proceedings were concluded by Professor Alden Johnson, who spoke earnestly of the need of having an historical magazine published under the auspices of the Society. He very justly remarked that what was needed was a scholarly journal devoted to sympathetic work that would encourage those to write who grasped the history of Maine as something more than family biographies. We heartily wish the secretary every success in this praiseworthy undertaking.

STANDARD PUBLICATIONS

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register. A supplement to the April number of the Register, published by the Society, contains the proceedings of this interesting and important institution at the annual meeting in January. It is pleasant to know from the address of the

President, Mr. Baxter, that the financial situation was never so good, and moreover that there is an intention to publish what is wisely termed a consolidated index. Let us hope that our friends of Boston may remember that great Index makers are rare; men like O'Callahan the editor of the Colonial Records of New York—an Index without cross references is a delusion and a snare.

It is different in these days of great enterprises to get much attention to those institutions we already have. They have grown up by the unrewarded unrecognized devotion to their adornment and improvement of the very highest class of the intellectual members of our community. The Society makes a modest appeal for funds to secure what it has collected and provide for its increase. May it succeed.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Published Quarterly by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for subscribers. Philadelphia: January, 1907. This number comes to us this month with an extremely curious and instructive paper on the Historic Value of Trumbull's Declaration of Independence. A few years since there was exhibited in various of our cities a large collection of Trumbull's original sketches. That containing the key to the painting in the Rotunda of the Capitol is in the School of the Fine Arts of Yale University. Trumbull, it will be remembered, was of Connecticut. The curious part of this history of the picture is that it shows that it represents persons who although in favor of the Declaration did not sign it, among whom in one or the other class "are represented Clinton, Willing, R. R. Livingston and Dickenson. While among portraits of those whose names do appear in the instrument, and who are not represented, are Morton, Smith, Taylor, Ross, Penn, Stone, Nelson, F. L. Lee, and Branton. But the author of the history adds that, "even had Trumbull (been able to follow and) followed absolutely

the signatures of the original act," (now in a steel safe in the Library of the Department of State in Washington), he would not however necessarily have been correct. He closes the interesting paper with the significant admission that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make Art and History agree, and that in this instance Art and History do not wholly agree. The other papers of general interest in the magazine are some documents and letters of the Clymer family; Washington's household account book, 1793-1797, and an account of Joseph Andrews, engraver of the early half of the last century, will greatly interest print collectors.

*The Pennsylvania—German—*A popular Magazine of Biography, History, Genealogy, Folklore, Literature, etc. H. W. Kriebel, Publisher, East Granville, Pa. May, 1907. This seems to be a crisp publication of short articles of a general character. This number contains a discussion of the precise site of General Lee's headquarters at Gettysburg. There is a picture of the "house along the Chambersburg Pike," which he is supposed to have occupied from July 1st to 3rd, 1863, the days of the battle. A chapter on old German surnames is worth the reading.

Biographical Sketch of Samuel Hayes Pennington, M. D., LL.D., 1806-1900. Ninth President of the New Jersey Historical Society, 1894-1897. By William Nelson. The Press Printing and Publishnig Company, Paterson, N. J. 1906. In this pamphlet there is an appreciative memoir of this distinguished member of a distinguished family who was a member of the Society from 1845, when it was founded, until his death. Among the officers of this Society have been many of the most prominent citizens of the state: Chief Justice Hornblower was its first president, and in their turn, James Parker, John Rutherford, Dr. Carney Rodgers, Chancellor Green and others. On the declination of Dr. Pennington to re-election to the presidency, he was

succeeded by General Stryker. Mr. Nelson informs us that he published a steel engraved portrait of Dr. Pennington in his "Fifty years of Historical Work in New Jersey."

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Seventh Series, Volume VI. Boston. Published by the Society. 1907. This is the second publication of the Bowdoin and Temple papers which form a portion of the great collection given to the Society by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. The first was a selection from them, mainly letters from James Bowdoin, Governor of Massachusetts, to his son-in-law, Sir John Temple. The present volume includes some of the letters of the Governor, and throws side light on the troubles to which men were exposed, who American-born, like Temple and Vassal made their residence in England during our revolution, an absenteeism which resulted in personal discomforts and financial loss. Mr. Temple, however, was appointed Consul-General for Great Britain to the United States in 1785, and "kissed hands of royalty on the appointment." There is quite an account of Shay's Rebellion, which occurred during Governor Bowdoin's administration, and there are two interesting letters from Dr. Robert Emmet of Dublin, the father of the martyr and progenitor of the New York branch of this distinguished Irish family. Indeed every one of the letters has its especial interest, and the volume is a welcome addition to the minor information which has importance in determining the character of men and their true relations to historic events. But the chief interest will be found in its illustrations of the nature of the administration of President Jefferson, and of the wrangles of the Republican party which he had created on the Jacobin plan which he learned in France. The Second James Bowdoin, whose correspondence takes up the body of this volume, was sent out by Jefferson on a special commission to treat with

Spain on the subject of Florida, and the Louisiana boundaries which were held to be vital questions by a branch of the Republicans whose motto was America for "Americans and no others." Mr. Bowdoin was joined to General John Armstrong the Minister of the United States to France, a man whose memory is not savory; though of certain abilities and admitted to be an accomplished man of letters, his record as a diplomatist is not over creditable, and his later failure as Madison's Secretary of War is lamentable. Fire and water are not more antagonistic than were Armstrong and Bowdoin, but had there been perfect harmony there was no possible chance of success on their mission. Armstrong seemed to have enjoyed his opportunities, but Bowdoin, perhaps because of the miserable state of his health, had a sorry time of it. A few extracts will show how thoroughly he was disgusted with the administration at home. In 1807 he writes "ye marks of a weak, inefficient system are everywhere exhibited—distracted and divided at home, respected by no foreign power but hated by all." This was a sad decline from his optimistic views of 1802, when he praised "ye manly disinterested policy which has hitherto marked its progress"—that of Jefferson's administration. Jefferson himself in a letter to Bowdoin, written in 1807, supports the charge brought against him—that he ruled his party with an iron hand, and would fain have subordinated every department of the government to his own ideas. He says: "It is unfortunate that federalism is still predominant in our judiciary department, which is consequently in opposition to the legislative and executive branches, and is able to baffle their measures often;"—a rather low estimate of the dignity of the Supreme Court, when we consider that it was at that very time presided over by John Marshall, the most illustrious of our Chief Justices, the great interpreter of our fundamental law. Jefferson's were the first attempts of which we have illustration in our own day to

carry out a personal policy independent of the co-ordinate branches of the government.

General Dearborn was Jefferson's Secretary of War, and as such his opinion of the military power is worth recording. Referring to the Spanish possessions on our continent he says: "While we do not covet their territories or their money (yet) they are certainly in our power as much as the British prisoners of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick are." General Armstrong, Madison's Secretary of War, had an opportunity of testing this possibility in 1812, with what success history records.

The curious in financial studies will find a long and labored letter of Noah Webster to Governor Bowdoin of 1807, protesting against the "Funding Act," that master stroke of Hamilton's policy which first established the Public Credit on a secure foundation. There are also letters of Madison and one of Munroe in 1809, in which he defends his diplomatic career. Certainly Jefferson's administration had a thorny path to travel in view of the contempt in which the United States was held abroad after the death of Washington.

Publications of the Southern History Association. Colyer Meriwether, Editor. Bi-monthly. March, 1907. This is quite an interesting number, particularly in the quality of its book reviews. The leading article contains a series of letters of General Greene to Thomas Sumter, the famous partisan leader of the Carolinas. They are severally written from the Continental camps on the Pedee and the Catawba, in January and February, 1781, and again in 1782. Then Sumter was suffering under a wound and seems to have been of rather a difficult temper to manage. Greene's letters are models of good sense and throw a side light on some of the troubles of Commanders in those days when individual independence marred many a good opportunity. Greene never overestimated his own strength, nor underes-

timated that of the able Cornwallis to whom he was opposed. A little more or a little less militia support of that exceptional kind which Sumter and Marion mustered changed the fortunes of many a combat. In the end, however, it must be admitted that Greene outmanoeuvred the enemy. A second series of letters is the Doolittle correspondence on the Negro question as far back as 1848, when the name of General Taylor was in the mouth of both the Wig and Democratic parties, and a candidate for the Presidency.

A third series concerns the John Brown raid, and contains a characteristic letter from Henry J. Raymond, then editor of the New York Times. The negro question will not down; it has been partially solved in other countries by the mixture of the races, but this will never be the outcome in the United States. The Anglo-Saxon and the Negro make an unfortunate combination which inherits all the vices of the white without the virtues of the black. A most instructive paper on this subject appeared in one of the last year's publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

History of the old Blake House, and a brief sketch of the Dorchester Historical Society by James H. Stark, Vice-President of the Dorchester Historical Society. Old Blake House, Columbia Road, Dorchester, Mass., January 1st, 1907. This little pamphlet is an interesting addition to the history of this famous old town. From it we learn that the Society was incorporated in 1891, and that among its work may be mentioned the observance of the 274th anniversary of the settlement of the town; another, the celebration of the centennial in 1894 of the birth of Edward Everett, who was born in the city. It is pleasing to know that there is an increasing interest in the preservation of historic documents, which until recently, if private were relegated to garrets, if public, to old barns. The building in which the Dor-

chester Society has its home is the old Blake House, built by James Blake about 1650. There is a genealogy of the Blakes (or Blague) in which the family is traced to Somersetshire. the Blake house was removed to its present site.

A Supplement to the General Register of the Society of Colonial Wars, A. D. 1906. Published by direction of the General Council. Boston, 1906. This superbly printed and well-arranged volume is as its title indicates, merely a supplement to the General Register. Its interest is confined to the members whose admission it records in the several State Societies. The Society of Colonial Wars is the second in importance of the great societies founded in the last quarter of the last century, to seek out and perpetuate the names and deeds of our fathers, the makers of American History. The Sons of the Revolution now in their home in Fraunces Tavern, was the first. This Society of Colonial Wars has branches in every one of the thirteen Colonial States; its membership is limited to those who can prove descent from an ancestor, who served any of the colonies from the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607, to the Battle of Lexington, 1775. This volume carries a portrait of Governor-General Frederic T. De Peyster of New York, who died in 1905. He was succeeded by Mr. Arthur T. C. Snowden of Boston, Massachusetts. As all registers are necessarily incomplete, attention is called to the request that any errors or additional information as to lines of descent be addressed to Mr. George Norbury Mackenzie, registrar-general, Baltimore, Maryland.

Abstracts of Wills on file in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York. Volume VII. June 6th, 1716—November 29th, 1771—with letters of administration, January 6th, 1767—January 11th, 1773. Collections, New York Historical Society Publication fund series. Published by the Society. This is the latest and the XXXI Volume of the most

valuable and interesting series. The first volume of Wills begins with liber I, and the first record is of April ye 27th, 1665. The copy for all these volumes was made by Mr. William S. Pelletreau, a well-known expert in historical investigation, and the index by Mr. Robt. H. Kelby, librarian of the Society. A concluding volume is now in course of preparation, which will bring the record down to the close of the colonial period. Together these New York abstracts with the "Calendar of Wills" on File and Recorded in the office of the County Clerk at Albany, and of the Secretary of State, completed and edited by Mr. Berthold Fernow in 1896, make an invaluable store house of information for the genealogist and historian.

BOOK REVIEWS

MINUTES OF THE COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK 1675-1676; in eight volumes, 8vo., published by *Dodd Mead Company*, 1905.

These minutes as is justly stated in the introduction to the first volume contain in their entries by far the most important collection of material relating to the early administration of municipal affairs in New York which has survived the disasters of the revolution. These curious and interesting documents were published at the instance of the New York Historical Society, the first volume in 1903. The first is the proclamation of Governor Andros, Governor-General, of date 17th October, 1675, notifying the city of his appointment under the authority of James, Duke of York, and they close with the minutes of the 24th May, 1776, when civil disturbances brought them to an abrupt close. These volumes have more than a curious interest, as they contain the only certain information as to the opening, regulating and paving of streets, the encroachments on the water front, the erection of public buildings, the ordinances for sewage, lighting and the water supply and the filling up of creeks and ponds. The work is well indexed and is a creditable production in arrangement and printing. That Mr. Robert H. Kelby, librarian of the New York Historical Society, was one of the three gentlemen entrusted with the work is the guarantee of its fidelity to the original. During the period when Mr. Tuomey was clerk of the Common Council, an entire room in the City Hall was filled with municipal documents, some of them very curious as illustrative of the habits of the people; bills for expenses of festivities, bonfires, elections, public dinners to digni-

taries; which seem have now disapeared, an instance of that reckless vandalism which is the rule rather than the exception of our New York city government.

LEE'S CENTENNIAL. An address by Charles Francis Adams, delivered at Lexington, Virginia, Saturday, January 19th, 1907, on the invitation of the president and faculty of Washington and Lee Universities.

For this distinguished character no one today north or south entertains other than high regard. Though no one could hand him over as Charles Sumner did to the "avenging pen of history," yet few northern men would go to the other extreme as Mr. Adams did in his address when he said that as the "result of much patient study and most mature reflection that under similar circumstances I would myself have done exactly what he did." Thus as is often found, extremes meet; a Virginia and Massachusetts man agree in a justification of secession. But we do not believe that the final record of history will bear out Mr. Adams' apology. It will hardly be denied that a directly opposite course from that which Lee pursued, might possibly have brought Virginia to her senses and made accommodation possible. In spite of what Mr. Adams calls his great sacrifices of all that man "prizes most" it is not unreasonable to suppose that the great soldier of the Mexican war, the success of which was, in great measure, due to him as chief of staff to General Scott, was wholly deaf to the call of ambition. With Mr. Adams' opinions of the merits of the Gettysburg campaign, we take no issue but hold to the generally accepted opinion that the invasion was a radical blunder no matter how well carried out.

But passing from these disputed questions we call attention to Mr. Adams' purely historical discussion of the southern fallacy as to the power of King cotton, and the mistaken confident appeal to the mercenary side of human nature in the threat to withhold it from export until the

confederacy was recognized, and again to his philosophic statement "that the confederacy collapsed from inanition. It died of exhaustion, starved and gasping." That blockade which the merchants of New York demanded on the very first news of the attack on Sumter, and at which southern statemen laughed was the initial cause of the final issue. Of the truth of Mr. Adams' judgment it is only necessary to repeat the remark made to the writer by General Grant soon after the capture of Atlanta, "the confederacy is like an egg"—all of its strength is on the surface. The beauty of Lee's character, his family and social virtues, his generosity in victory, his equanimity in defeat no one will deny, but we question whether Mr. Adams' view of the duty of military allegiance will find much favor in either branch of the national service.

STRANGE STORIES FROM HISTORY. Post octavo, illustrated with introduction. *Harper and Brothers*, publishers, New York and London, MCMVII. "The titles are: "Stories of Colonial Days," "of the Revolution," "of 1812," "of the Civil War."

This is a class of fiction intended for young people. The first of the series now just published is "Strange Stories of Colonial Days." It is a delightful panorama of life and adventure from the crowning of the Virginia chieftain, Powhatan, in the beginning of the seventeenth century to the plot of Pontiac to seize Fort Detroit in 1763. As the introduction especially disclaims any strict adherence to historic truth, it would be unfair to criticize, but to a lover of history it seems rather a pity that while the true tale of colonial adventure affords all the necessary elements of romance, any embroidery should be resorted to. But as it is the volume will be welcome and instructive to many boys and girls, and worth the reading by grown people.

HEROES OF THE NAVY OF AMERICA. By Charles Morris,

Philadelphia, London. *J. B. Lippincott Co.*: 1907. A captivating and well written collection of biographies of the sturdy men, captain and crews who have made the fame of the navy of the United States. It would be hard to find a record of more daring actions, individual and collective, than those that fill the pages of our naval story. It begins with a successful dash of the Narragansett Bay sailors on the armed schooner *Gaspee* in 1772, and the equally successful attack in 1775 on the British armed schooner *Margaretta*, in the bay of Machais in the Maine colony. Mr. Morris says of these actions that "the land lubbers did the work." But it must not be forgotten that the entire sea coast population from Maine to Georgia were as much sailors as hay makers. The last chapter recites the attempt to close Santiago harbor by Hobson with the sinking of the *Merrimac*. The great national events treated in an admirable, yet not effusive style, are the lessons given by John Paul Jones that the soil of the tight little isle was not immune; that the proudest of English frigates were not disgraced in striking their flag to Americans; and to the nations of Europe that if they did not feel themselves called upon or competent to avenge the long disgrace to civilization of the atrocities of the Barbary Moors that the young United States was able to undertake and complete the task alone. To one familiar with the scenes of the Civil War it seems strange that no mention is made of that gallant commander of the *Cumberland* (who bore the same name as the accomplished author of these biographies) whose ship went down in that awful destruction of our wooden fleet by the ram of the *Merrimac*. Yet she went down with colors flying, and her last shot tore through the front port-holes of the ram and gave her the death wound, an incident which is one of the most picturesque in our annals. The survivors of the *Cumberland* escaped to the river bank but the "Flag was still there," though the ship lay low on the bottom of the Potomac.

AS THE HAGUE ORDAINS. Journal of a Russian Prisoner's Wife in Japan. Illustrated. *Henry Holt and Company*, New York: 1907.

This is or purports to be the journal of a Russian lady who had been a resident of Japan in her early life when the wife of a Russian stationed there. Her second husband was a colonel in the Russian service, who was captured by the Japanese early in the late war while on a scouting expedition upon which he had volunteered quite out of the line of his duty. As a sort of prelude to the book this gifted lady quotes the text of the Hague "Convention with respect to the laws and customs of war on land," and the requirement under article VII, that, failing a special agreement between the belligerents, prisoners of war shall be treated as regards food quarters and clothing on the same footing as the troops of the government which has captured them." It is proper here to recall that the orders issued by the United States government in accordance with the principles of international war as laid down by our great citizen Dr. Francis Lieber, are the one great undisputed authority on this subject. The faithful execution of the Hague agreement is the theme of this admirable volume. In one of the earlier chapters this lady, evidently of high rank, notes the wonderful changes in the conditions of Japan, between her first visit, and that she made later to be her husband's companion in his confinement, and her story is full of personal interest as she describes the effect of the victories of the yellow pigmies over the Russian giants by land and sea. She speaks of Lafcadio Hearn, "the one true expounder of this human mystery, Japan." He is best known today, but the book of General Legendre, one of the heroes of our Civil War, later United States consul at Amoy, and long the finance minister of Japan, should not be forgotten. The charming volume now under review supplements these more serious studies with sidelights upon the habits of this curious people. She is a

very plain spoken lady. Her account of her experiences in New York on landing, is interesting, but there are other custom houses in the world by the dozens in Europe, with whose officials we are perfectly willing our own should be compared. She has forgotten that we receive in New York in a single year incomers in number equal to a population of any second class European town. Her contempt for Tolstoi, the idealist Russian reformer, and for Lord Curzon, the late Viceroy of India, throws some unfamiliar light on these personages. Her scorn of Russian red tape is measureless, but it was not worse than that of England in the Crimean war, or in the South African struggle, nor of France in the Franco-German war, nor of the United States in the beginning of the Civil War, or in the late war with Spain. The great lesson taught by the success of Japan, and that of Germany, is to follow the warning of Washington to be always ready. It may be possible that Japan has no further ambition, but it would be our folly if we permit her to realize them at our cost. From her account it seems that the Russians in confinement severely condemned General Stoessel for the surrender of Port Arthur, yet Martin in his "Awakening of China," holds to the view that the position was untenable, and from his long residence in the celestial kingdom this is probably correct. She considers the Field Marshal of Japan the "world's greatest general; the Twentieth Century God of War," and her comments on President Roosevelt's interference are most amusing. "It was such a well managed farce we thought that diplomatic promenade from two ends of the earth to the American Cronstadt. It must have been hard to keep straight faces when they all entered the council room."

As we write these lines there are rumors of a possible struggle between the United States and Great Britain on the fisheries question—a pretty predicament for this country with a possible, nay probable, conflict with Japan on

the San Francisco muddle—a warning to us to build our navy to a strength equal on the Pacific coast to that on the Atlantic. “That way safety lies.”

AN EXPRESS OF '76. A Chronicle of the Town of York in the War for Independence. By Lindley Murray Hubbard. *Illustrated by I. B. Beales.* Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston: 1906.

This is one of those semi-historical novels, partly fact, partly fancy, founded on historic incidents with local coloring. It purports to be based on a journal of a rider for the Boston Committee of Safety in '76, with information of the famous Hickie Plot to capture General Washington from his headquarters at the Mortier House, and carry him off to the “Duchess of Gordon,” which was lying in the Hudson with the Tory Governor Tryon on board. Some of the General's body guard were concerned. The author is a descendant of the Express rider in question (General Hubbard) who later married Polly Murray the daughter of the wealthy Quaker, whose country seat was at Inceberg, now Murray Hill, then on the old Boston road. The incidents of the plot were treated in 1900 by Charles Burdett in his story entitled “Margaret Moncrieffe, the first love of Aaron Burr,” the scene of which was also the Mortier House; which was then on the high bank overlooking the river. The present story in a measure hinges upon the action of a lady Clermont and her lover Armand de la Rouerie, then in America in disguise. From the context it would seem that the place now called Clermont took its name from her. However this may be it is certain that in 1783 it was the residence of Lord Courtenay, a British Peer, who had been forced to leave England. The author repeats what has always seemed the improbable story of the delay of Lord Howe's troops by the stopping of their commander to enjoy the hospitality of the Murray mansion; a delay which it is asserted enabled Burr to lead the

American garrison from the lower end of the island across the fields to Bloomingdale, and thence to Harlem Heights, on the eventful September 14th. This is a very pretty story, and there is no doubt that Howe did stop there. But the road of his army was up the Boston Post road, and not across the fields to the westward; moreover the Light Infantry, no doubt, made no exception to the usual habit of invading forces of scouting the country in advance of the main body, and on this occasion there was a slight skirmish with the Americans. He describes Fraunces Tavern as being the headquarters of the Tory element of New York during the British occupation. No more, probably, than any other tavern; indeed the City Arms on the Broadway was the chief resort of both civilians and military men.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY. By Rear-Admiral Stephen B. Luce, U. S. N. Reprinted from the proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, Vol. XXXI.

This is the last of the addresses of this high officer, to whom the great Naval War College at Newport owes its existence; an officer distinguished by his services in action as by the instructive deductions he has drawn from his long connection with the navy. He served with Farragut and was with him at the battle of Mobile bay—and he was with Commodore Biddle on his visit to Japan in 1846. Of this incident, of great present interest, his account was printed in volume XXXI of the Naval Institute. This visit preceded that of Commodore Perry, and the Admiral describes the civilization of Japan before she emerged from her isolation. It is illustrated with some graphic pictures of the United States vessels; the Columbus and the Vincennes in the harbor. The eight papers of the Admiral will be deposited with the New York Historical Society, where they will be accessible to any accredited student. That to which attention is called today is more suited to the naval ser-

vice itself than to the general public, but to those concerned in the operation of the Department in its various branches it is of suggestive value.

THE CURRENCY REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. Submitted to the Chamber October 4th, 1906.

While the question of the Currency—a delusive word little understood—is hardly a subject of a historic review, it is, nevertheless, a historic question. It first dropped into history when Abraham bought “The field and the cave of Macphelah for four hundred shekels of silver current *money* with the merchant,” which it is also stated was duly “weighed out.” From that day to this the precious metals of the world have been the one and the only *money*. How little their relative values had varied until the third quarter of the last century appears, when we read in Herodotus that the ratio of silver to gold was as one to thirteen, and so with the variation of one to two per cent. it remained until the first great disturbance in their relative values came in the discovery of gold in California in 1849, and of silver in Nevada in 1876. Holding to the principles recognized by every known master of finance, including in this country the great constructive organizer Hamilton, and the administrator Gallatin, the idea of flexibility in *currency* is absurd, and yet this is what the Chamber of Commerce Report recommends. The commonly accepted rule of Gresham is that the poorer drives out the better in all circulating mediums. If there be a question about comparative value the ordinary man holds on to his coin, and passes his paper on to his neighbor. The law of demand and supply applies to finance as well as to trade, and if real *money*, that is specie, is lacking, there is only one remedy by which to increase the supply, viz., to hold still without widening the gap by increasing the amount of paper promises until the rising rate attracts gold and silver from

their hiding places, or from foreign countries. Let the flexibility be there—we prefer the teachings of the old school to the new fangled notions. As the greatest producer of the *money* of the world, it is our interest to bring our currency, that is the promises to pay by government or by banks into just proportion to our output of gold or silver. The United States holds the key of the financial situation and can easily become the world's *money* centre, holding as it does a vast and increasing balance of trade. While it is pitiful to see the blunders of the Treasury Department in its constant interference with the money market, it is just to recognize that in the establishments of local banks, to the number of thousands, local money centres have been made, and the people taught the true and only duty of banks; the receiving and care for and the loaning of money and the discount of paper. As for circulation no bank circulation issues ever did or ever will remain for a day in a debtor community. It will go as the bird flies straight to the point where the debt of the community is due. There it will find deposit in some central bank and go to swell its loans to all sorts of enterprises and add its part to the ever rising values of commodities. As Mr. Gallatin wisely said, “specie follows wealth, does not precede it,” and wealth is simply the difference between what one owes and what one owns. In conclusion it may be truly said that in our eastern and in our middle states, the very idea in which banks were originally organized in the United States from 1879—namely that banks are for the promotion of commerce, has been entirely lost sight of. Wherever possible the banks in these localities have become simply agents to collect petty sums, enormous in the aggregate, and to send them to some great concern in the large cities. And they invite deposits by paying interest, and here the complaint comes in that the deposits they receive are not used for the benefit of their localities. The Chamber of Commerce report is full of statistics about foreign banks. Of what

interest is that to us who produce the material money on which they depend? What is of interest to us is the fluctuation in the supply and value. We commend to the reader of this report the instructive answer of the governor of the Bank of France to the queries of the Committee of the Chamber. But of all the recommendations of the report the most absurd is the third, viz., that the future issues of the United States bonds be not made available as a basis for the issue of national bank notes. The following modification is in order, viz., that *only such issues* being the promise to pay of the whole people are a just basis for issues of any currency which necessity compels the individual to take, whether legal tender or not. But if not national bank issues what then? It is an impertinence to ask an American citizen today to carry the promise of another person or combination of persons as money for their benefit. We believe there is too much common sense in the people to accept any such proposition. As far as an emergency currency is concerned the Clearing House should be able to supply it without further legislation.

THE AMERICAN NATION HISTORY, VOLUME 19, CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1859-1861. By French Ensor Chadwick, Rear Admiral U. S. N. Recent president of the Naval War College, with maps. New York and London. *Harper and Brothers*, publishers: 1906. Admiral Chadwick's volume begins with a chapter entitled, "Drift towards Southern Nationalization." Of course the establishment of an independent southern nation was the ultimate purpose of the school of statesmen, of which Calhoun was the most distinguished, and perhaps the only disinterested example—though it is more than probable that he had the presidential bee in his bonnet. The slaveholders themselves were limited in number and made but a small portion of the community—and with few exceptions were averse to the idea

of secession, yet the South had been taught to believe that the cotton culture was a monopoly which entitled them not only to rule the United States, but to dictate to foreign powers. As a Southern writer put it, "the alliance between the negroes and cotton, we venture to say, is now the strongest power in the world, and the peace and welfare of Christendom absolutely depends on the strength and security of it—the whole world is under the heaviest bonds to promote and strengthen this connection." In the forty years from 1820-1860 the crop had risen to 5,400,000 bales. The more cotton the more slaves needed—and as the south eagerly adopted the idea that slavery was a heaven ordained institution there was a natural desire to acquire the needed supply. The idea of a free negro and a free negro grown cotton crop was incredible. In succeeding chapters the Admiral describes the slave-holding South, 1850-1860, and the unrest created by the growing aversion of the North to the entire system of slavery which culminated in the John Brown raid of 1859. Viewing with alarm the strict enforcement demanded by the North of the Northwest ordinance, and the exclusion of slaves from Kansas together with the rapid increase of population in the Middle and Western states, it is not unnatural to think that it was thoroughly understood by Southern leaders that the time had come to strike for secession, peaceably if the North would consent, forcibly if not. The enthusiasm of the North in the Fremont campaign of 1854, its rallying cry of "Free soil, free men," increased their alarm as they found that the incoming immigration was as a whole hostile to the "pet institution." In vain did they threaten that it would never submit to a "black republican." The North answered the challenge with less passion perhaps, but equal determination. They recognized that the Union could not exist half free and half slave, and that secession meant a military government at the South, and a line of custom houses and fortified barriers between the states. So far as to

the causes of secession. The firing of Fort Sumter was the declaration of war. The most valuable chapters in the book are those which treat of Buchanan's contemptible weakness, of the vain attempt of his secretary of the treasury to destroy the credit of the United States abroad by non-payment of the interest on its bonds, and its deliberate neglect to provide for the payment of the civil list (the employees of the government, the officers of the army and navy,) all of which was subscribed for in an afternoon at the Bank of Commerce in New York City. This was bad enough, but what of the deliberate disarmament of the North by the change in the character of its arms; when the old style muskets sold at auction in Washington, passed invariably into southern armories—all these show a plan as deliberate as that of Prussia in forcing a war on France or Japan in her attack on Russia. But the end was not the same. In the volume before us the judgments are severe, such as one might expect of a great naval commander trained in that school of American service and brought up on the high plane of American honor.

THE HIGH AND PUISSANT PRINCESS MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA, Princess Dowager of Spain, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands. By Christopher Hare, author of a "Queen of Queens," and the "Making of Spain," etc.,—illustrated. New York: *Charles Scribners Sons*. 1907.

This book, imported by the publishers, is printed in the best manner and illustrated by a large number of fine plates of the famous potentates of Europe, male and female, in the most picturesque period in its history. Mr. Hare's volume is a notable contribution to the history and biography of the "Renaissance," which in the last five years have been the theme of the very best informed literary authorities of England and the Continent; and to these have been added the charming descrip-

tions of the Chateaux of France, by Mrs. Champney, and the illustrated tours of the Pennells, all Americans. The great lady whose story is here told, and whose right to fame Mr. Hare's study recites, was the daughter of the lovely Mary of Burgundy, who was the daughter of that famous Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, whose fortune did not rise to the height of his fame, for he fell before Nancy at the hands of the indomitable Swiss, whose anger he had provoked by an attack on their liberties. The husband of Mary was the Emperor Maximilian, a devoted consort. It is impossible with all desire to dwell on the incidents in the career of their daughter, the heroine of this volume. Suffice it to say that her mother died while she was yet but an infant of two years, and according to the times of the treaty of Arras which settled the quarrels of Europe for a while, she was affianced to the Dauphin of France, later Charles VIII. Young princesses in those days with their heritages were valuable assets in diplomatic negotiations. In France she was brought up by that greatest lady of the Renaissance, Anne de Beaujeu, Regent of the Kingdom, after the death of her masterful father, one of the greatest kings, while in other ways one of the most detestable characters in history. In spite of her great prestige Marguerite on the occasion of the later Peace of Senlis, after another period of struggle, was simply returned to her native Netherlands. Yet not without compensation, for she had received an education and a training exceptional in tone. For three years longer, however, she had been held as a hostage by France, her husband, Charles VIII, having married Anne of Brittany, for state reasons. So much for the first marriage of young Marguerite. Her next was not much more successful. In 1497, three years later, she was wedded to the Infante Juan of Spain, who died the next year. In 1501 Marguerite was again married to Philibert of Savoy, a handsome and charming youth to whom she was profoundly attached;

but alas, her days of wedded happiness were few. In 1504 he also died from exposure on a hunting expedition, and the puissant Marguerite again became a diplomatic asset. In 1507 Maximilian always ready with his innumerable schemes, pressed a marriage upon her with Henry VII, of England, but the princess resolutely declined. In the summer of this year, 1507, the Dowager Duchess of Savoy, was appointed Regent of the Netherlands, and established with her young nephew, Charles V, and three of her nieces, with Malines as her place of residence and government, for the Duchy of Burgundy, was a male fief and not included in her heritage. From this time her voluminous correspondence with her father is of great historic importance. Maximilian died in 1519. Marguerite survived him till 1530. Having set all the affairs of her realm in order, she was preparing to pay a visit to Bourg en Bresse to conclude the magnificent shrine she was building to Duke Philbert of Savoy. She was at the Palace in Malines on the 15 Nov. when she succumbed to the effects of an accident. Here we must leave this admirable biography interesting to all, but most valuable to the student of history because of the mass of documents which make the basis of the book.

THE BRITISH CITY. The beginnings of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. New York: *Charles Scribner's Sons*. 1907.

This gentleman, if we are not mistaken, was commissioned to make a study of municipal conditions abroad. In many ways it is the most important help to a proper understanding of one of the problems of the day; how to govern cities. The title is somewhat misleading, for notwithstanding all that Mr. Howe tells of the British city, there are no beginnings of Democracy as yet in Great Britain—although he says in his introduction that seventy-seven per cent. of the population of Great Britain lives under urban conditions—and that nearly four-fifths

of the people live in towns he does not and cannot show that in the struggle to better their conditions any help comes from the lower classes. As yet we have seen no effort even from this class to remedy the evils under which they suffer—Democracy we suppose to mean what the word implies—the rule of the people. Of this there is neither sign or promise in England. This study covers so much ground that it is hardly possible even to indicate its field or its value. To those who live in great cities it is important as giving data for comparison. We are invited to see the advantages of government control over transit, and the system of private ownership in New York is contrasted with municipal ownership in many of the English and Scotch towns. The result of the examination is at times in favor of and again against municipal ownership of public franchises. One may send a package from one end of the kingdom of Great Britain to another, or of Germany, or of France, for as little money as it costs to carry it from the railroad station to one's house in any city in the United States. Only yesterday the Adams Express Company declared a dividend of twenty-four million dollars profit; it had declared a profit of thirteen million dollars some few years ago but today it costs one as much to send a portmanteau from a steamboat landing in New York City to his house as to send it from Brest to Bordeaux; yet on the other hand within a few days one of our great journals gave an entire page to the story of the failure of state control over the telephone system all over Europe, as contrasted with our own private control; with reports from England, France, Russia, Germany, Italy and Austria. Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark seem to have better service. By which it seems that "circumstances alter cases." Dismissing this branch of the subject a few words on the basic conditions of England. Considering Germany, if that agglomeration of states deserves the name of Germany, when the several states surrender every idea of independence to the arro-

gant assumption of Prussia, it is quite possible that there may be a revolution, probably peaceful, while as yet there seems to be no hope for our kinsmen beyond the sea in England; at least until the day comes in England as in France in '89, when the poor starved—then perhaps another Jack Cade will sweep away the remains of the feudal system which has its last hold in England. It has been the fashion of our English censors in the press to hold up to scorn the American Senate and its corruption. Mr. Howe draws contrast between the House of Lords and the Senate of the United States, his words are "Great Britain takes it as a matter of *news*, that in the last Parliament 229 members of the House of Commons held 673 directorships in corporations, while 103 Peers were on the boards of 367 companies." In the face of these facts the impertinent attitude of the English press to America is ludicrous. The one salient point in this admirable book is the exposition of the manner in which land privilege has so long shaped the life blood of Great Britain, that today her population is more miserable than any country of Western Europe. The reason is that the owners of the land rule England. The land itself has not been revalued since 1798, yet it is estimated that it has increased in value 2,000 per cent. since that time. The land owner pays no tax, the tenant all, whether in city or on farm. And as for franchises in the city every one of them has to pay its price to Parliament. In 1903 all but 70 of the 589 members of Parliament were hereditary. Less than 8,000 of the aristocracy own one-half of the soil of Great Britain, to say nothing of the railway, shipping and other corporations. Not one person out of every one hundred has any ownership in the soil, of which one-fourth is owned by six hundred peers, and sales, even of their estates, are restricted by act of Parliament. This the author calls the "The Dead Hand of the land." Is it unreasonable to hope that within a generation a revolution may occur in Eng-

land, and the iron grip of privilege be rested from its people? Unfortunately the English people "love a Lord," and not till starvation arouse them into action as in France in 1789, will they raise a hand against those whom they consider their "betters;" an aristocracy, whose poor members marry American heiresses while the wealthy content themselves with chorus girls. Such books as this are preparing the way for a reformation in England, which will put her in line with her more advanced neighbors.

THE GREATER AMERICA. By Ralph D. Paine, New York. The *Outing Publishing Company*: MCMVII. Reading this breezy volume after the depressing, indeed melancholy, story of the wretched condition of our Anglo-Saxon kinsmen across the sea, it seems difficult to believe that he is not optimistic. Yet in the personal experience of the writer of this review, all of the wonderful development of the West, the "Greater America," has taken place; and in view of these memories the recent saying of one of our greatest preachers, stimulated by the miserable pessimism of the day, it cannot be denied that the Middle West is the sheet anchor of the nation, the kernel of that Greater America of which Mr. Paine treats. For the writer of this review was one of the favored party of eastern gentlemen who in 1851 were invited to the opening of the Northern Michigan and Southern Indiana railroad. To avoid details it is needless to say more than that the railroad from Chicago to Rock Island was just completed. That later on a trip up the lakes the writer went on through the woods, a few miles on a single track, intending to run from Madison to Milwaukee, and that he spent many days at the Sault Ste. Marie, running the rapids in an Indian canoe. The Soo was then about as dull a town as possible. Mr. Paine tells us that "for six months of the year an average of a big steamer every fifteen minutes of the night and day passes through the locks which join Lake Superior and

Lake Huron." Imagine such a parade on the North or East River of New York. Another instructive chapter is the story of a copper mine. Though known for a long way back that the region of Lake Superior was rich in minerals it was not until the days of the generation now passing that the great copper industries of Lake Superior were developed. Enough to say that about one hundred millions of dollars have been paid to the stockholders of the Calumet and Hecla mines in thirty-five years. But here is an object lesson of what is possible in these United States if once freed from the Mitchells and the Gompers "et id omne genus." There the people of thirty nations meet side by side; a hundred foreigners to one American born, yet "there is no municipal force in the district." The Boston Company owns about 1,200 dwelling houses which they rent at a minimum sum to the miners, whose wages have been high enough for them to purchase outright from the company their own houses. The next most instructive chapter in this book is "Jim Hill" and the reconstructed farmer. While Roosevelt was figuring out how by Civil Reform and as a Rough Rider he might get to the top of the ladder, "Jim Hill" with a marvellous practical genius was making this Greater America what it is. Perhaps he is today the best of those of whom we are apt to term self-made men. He was the prophet of agriculture. He foresaw that the railroad, and only the railroad (one great Central railroad with tens or hundreds of feeders on horizontal lines of track) could bring the wondrous product of the West to market. And the writer may be pardoned for saying that within his recollection all of the corn of the Middle West not consumed on the farm was burned for fuel. Today it is the greatest national product, and we gladly uphold the proposition of a Colonial Dame, a member of one of our historic families, that the corn be made our national emblem. Mr. Secretary Chase so recognized it when by his orders it was included in the ornamentation of the capitals of the columns

in the new treasury building in Washington. Hill has taught his people to be farmers; and the farmers are the hope of America. Mr. Webster more than three-quarters of a century ago, said of the Mississippi valley that it alone could feed the entire population of Europe better than it had been fed before. Today Mr. Paine tells us "that one-half the population of the United States is occupied directly or indirectly in the cultivation of the land—and fully one-half of the entire capital of the country is invested in farms and their buildings." There is not a chapter in this book which has not its instruction, not one that in the reading does not bring a scorn of those who deny the uplifting effect of American institutions.

THE INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT. A series of chapters on present day conditions. By Samuel G. Smith, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota. New York, Chicago, Toronto: *The Fleming H. Rowell Company*, London and Edinburgh [1907].

Whether we agree or not with the several conclusions of the author, it cannot be denied he has laid a foundation for them in the most logical form. That is to say in the number and precision of his premises. Before beginning his work he addressed queries to the leaders in the opposing camps of capital and labor. The answers were abundant, some of recognized leaders, employers and employees whose names are signed to their replies. More are unsigned for obvious reasons, but the author's assertion is sufficient for us that they are authoritative expressions of the best class of opinion on either side. In his chapter "the Problem stated," he divides the literature of the subject into two groups—one discussions of a theoretic character, the other, the briefs in reply to his queries. In a later chapter he includes the public as a partner in this tripartite contest, and gives his judgment on the one crucial point in the controversy in favor of the *closed shop*. Here he says:

“Were I in the ranks of organized labor, I should certainly do my very best to secure the closed shop.” And just here he gives away the need of any logic on the argument. If the closed shop, which means the right of one man, or set of men, to dictate to another man, or set of men, or to injure the interests of another for his or their own benefit, be recognized, the employer will soon close the shop himself and use his capital in other fields. Perhaps as the outcome of this great dispute depends upon the legal decision of the Supreme Court, there need be no concern. We have perfect faith that the men who wear the mantle of Jay, Marshall and Chase, may be depended upon to maintain the independence of the judiciary. When in answer to the thousand murders by the trade unions, which have disgraced our country in the last few years, there come a few judicial hangings of their instigators, the interference of the walking delegate will come to an end. The author of this study does not believe in the theory of over production; but this again depends on the money ability to carry over the surplus, an economic and not a social question. To some rather narrow opinions objection must be taken. The author condemns the action of railroad officials in moving Sunday excursions, which have, says he, neither a sound economic basis, nor any social excuse. He may rightly object to unnecessary labor in track building, but to hold that the Sunday excursions which give the weary factory hands, confined for six days in the week a chance to take an outing on ocean, beach or hill-side, is today absurd. The author may have some religious sentiment on the question; but was the broad-minded Luther not as true an exponent of the teachings of Christ as the narrow-minded Calvin? Every student knows that the observance of the English Church Sunday was a compromise between the practices of the Anglican Episcopal Church and those of the Scotch dissenters; but this is an academic question. The *open* Sunday has come to stay.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE LORD. A romance of the Washingtons. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser. New York: *Henry Hoth and Company*. 1906.

This well written volume concerns the parentage and birth of Washington, and gives some account of his young days. Its first chapter is the most interesting and really quite a thrilling story. Entitled the "Wild Scotsman," it describes with what historical truth we are not informed, a romantic incident in the life of "Mary, the Mother of Washington," the daughter of Joseph Ball, a Virginia tobacco merchant, then living in London. She became the object of a passionate attachment of "The McClean," chieftain of that ancient clan, who had already a wife whom he had forcibly abducted in true highland fashion. Their first meeting is described as accidental at the lady's house, when an overflow of the river Thames seemed to be, if it were not, serious. "The McClean" held the title of Lord Drumardlee, was highly connected, and it seems had a masterful way with young maidens. But Miss Ball made short work with him when she heard of the little matrimonial incident. According to our authoress, however, he never forgot her influence and seems to have died repentant of his sins and in the odor of sanctity. Some of his family emigrated to Virginia and settled on the lands which Joseph Ball had advised him to purchase in the colony. This gives occasion for a tale of later experiences of a more pleasant nature between Mary and the McCleans. She had, however, by this time become the second wife of Augustine Washington, and the mother of the "Immortal George." The later incidents in the book need no comment here; they are all familiar stories. The title is taken from a verse in a familiar old hymn, and there is a religious tinge to the story.

A WEST POINT YEARLING. By Captain Paul B. Malone, U. S. Army. *The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia*. MCMVII.

A captivating story of the period not long ago, when after some disastrous results from the hazing system, then in full force, both in the army and navy academies, our colleges and universities had aroused a passionate expression of public opinion. While the romance hinges on the effort of the authorities at West Point to repress the system, and the sympathy with that effort of some of the "Yearlings" i. e. (those in the second year of the West Point Academy, corresponding in their term-rank to that of the Sophomore in the colleges, as the plebe in the academy does to that of the Freshman)—its real value is in its descriptions of the life of the cadet in every detail—and the exposition of the manner in which in their four years of instruction, the green youths from every quarter of the land, often uncouth, awkward, ungainly, become the "fine flower" of our country. It is a book which is sure to have a success, not only with the large class of the graduates, whose attachment to the institution never fails, but quite as great with those of the gentler sex who "love the military." There is a breezy description of a prize fight on the grounds and another of a foot ball game between the West Point boys and those of the Annapolis Navy Academy, which is worth the reading by those who understand the sport as played today; a sport not to be compared with the old style foot ball game of Harvard and Yale, when the college classes turned out in forces, freshman and junior, sophomore and senior in comparatively gentle rivalry. A time when slugging was unknown, and when in the weekly combats a majority of the students were engaged, instead of a select few noted for their physical, not their intellectual, superiority; an odd distinction for a college boy.

THE LONG LABRADOR TRAIL. By Dillon Wallace. *Illustrated. The Outing Publishing Company. MCMVII.* This is an account of a second and successful journey of Mr. Wallace over the wilderness of desolate Labrador. While its interest will be greatest to the geographer from

its precise observation of the lay of the land, the courses of rivers, and the location and extent of lakes, and also to the ethnologist in its account of the various Indian tribes which he met along the trail, yet like the stories of Kane and of Peary, it commends itself to all those who are in sympathy with men who risk health, even life, in the effort to extend the sphere of human knowledge. The hearts of such will beat as they read the heroic struggles of Mr. Wallace and recognize his self-denial and nobility of character when circumstances were most discouraging. Of the scientific value of the work others must speak, but it will surely be an incentive to endeavor to many. It is idle to discuss the proportionate relation of human suffering to the increase of human knowledge. Suffice it to say that there never can be a stop in the effort to ascertain and define the limits of our globe, and to describe the origin and nature of those who inhabit it.

THE SITE OF OLD JAMES-TOWNE, 1607-1698. A brief historical and topographical sketch of the First American Metropolis. *Illustrated* with original maps, drawings and photographs. By Samuel H. Yonge. Tercentenary edition. Richmond, Va.: *The Hermitage Press*. 1907.

This volume is a reprint of articles published in 1904, and now gathered to illustrate the history of the old town at the tercentenary of Virginia. While of general interest to the antiquary and again from its nature to the engineer, its great value to the Virginian is an account of the manner in which Mr. Yonge has unearthed the remains of the old city. This volume is illustrated with thorough maps, and should find a place in every public library. Besides maps it has many photo-gravures of the magnates who ruled or misruled Virginia, either at home or abroad in the early days of the settlement. It seems hardly necessary to touch upon its historic chapters, although the author shows his perfect competence, as he says himself the real value of his work

is the result of long labor and research. His task made under the direction of the United States Engineer's Department, was to protect Jamestown Island from the encroachments of James River. It at first seemed that the "abraded area was upwards of fifty acres, having its greatest width about three-eighths of a mile at the north-western extremity of the island." His conclusion as to the precise site of the old town, somewhat differs, he says, from those of the historians; but we presume that he had the advantages of a technical education; all important in such matters. Interest will be aroused in the picture of the mysterious iron-stone tablet which from an escutcheon on a corner seems to have marked a tomb. The brasses are missing, but the grooves in which they were sunk show where they rested; whether inlaid or embossed. If they were brasses, which is uncertain, they show a very early use of brasses in the colony.

HOLDERNESS. An account of the beginnings of a New Hampshire Town. By George Hodges. Boston and New York: *Houghton, Mifflin and Company*. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1907.

A welcome history of this little town of the eighteenth century, which, known to few, is situated in one of the most charming localities in middle New Hampshire. The history is taken from the minutes of the Town Meetings from 1771-1815, called the Raw hide Books. The original charter of 1761 still exists. Mr. Hodges makes the beginning of his study an account of the Endicott Rock and the Indian Trail. The Endicott Rock stands at the Weirs, and was set up by the old Puritan governor of the Massachusetts colony at the junction of the Winnepesaukee Lake, and the wild picturesque waters of the Pemigewasset. In the old days it was the habit of the shad and the salmon coming in from the sea to go up the Merrimac (the Indian name for the meeting of the waters) and as high as what is now known

as the town of Franklin. There the fish divided, the salmon taking the course of the cold, clear, rocky Pemigewasset, the shad turning into the waters of Winnepesaukee in great shoals, when they were entrapped by the Weirs set by the Indians. This primitive contrivance was a line of rocks connected with nets, which stretched across the entrance to the lake. The Endicott rock still remains with its quaint inscription; along side of it lay the Indian Trail. The Indians of this region, although a dozen tribes, were all Algonquins, and Mr. Hodges considers were men of the stone age. The trail in the seventeenth century lay between St. Francis, a town half Indian, half French, on the St. Lawrence and the sea, at what are now Portsmouth and Dover. On its course it passed by the Squam Lakes, where there is now a country hostelry, and at its foot the little town of Holderness. The charter under which the township was granted by Governor Wentworth, bears date of 1751. The name of Holderness is found in William the Conqueror's Domesday book, and is also in one of Chaucer's tales. The Earl of Holderness, in England, at the time of the charter, was one of the Secretaries of State, and the little New Hampshire town was named in his honor. The family name of this the fourth and last Earl of Holderness, was Robert D'Arey. Among the many illustrations of this volume is a plate of his portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and there are also characteristic likenesses of Squire Samuel Livermore and his wife. He was one of the earliest settlers and magnates of the State, and there is also a pleasing picture of the old Livermore house. If the reader be tempted to visit this fascinating region by any word of ours he will be thankful, for every foot of the scenery is associated with the stirring colonial days; for the trail was the line of Indian invasion, and colonial defence.

THE BOOK OF CAMPING AND WOODCRAFT. A guide book

for those who travel in the wilderness. By Horace Kephart. New York: *The Outing Publishing Company*. 1906. A book of practical use to those, and they are in increasing number each year, who take a summer or autumn outing in the wilderness. Of course such a book has a special interest. It is many sided, and is intended to cover the subject; the outfit, clothing and kit, instruction as to camp building in its minutest details. There is a chapter on "Camp Cooking," which in this happy land where as Talleyrand said, "there are forty religions and but one sauce," is worth a place in every modest household. Another chapter describes the pests of the woods, the black flies, the minions or sand flies, and the mosquito—all petty insects, but equal in their persecution, from which results are often fatal—fever and insanity. To these he adds the scorpion and tarantula—but these we have not met in our northern woods; for of what he calls the wilderness there is little left in the country east of the Alleghanies. There are lessons also in woodcraft; how to blaze a trail, to skin a deer, to care for the antlers, to prepare birds for the taxidermist, to ship and preserve fish, in a word a book of indispensable value to the sportsman.

THE AWAKENING OF CHINA. By W. A. P. Martin, D. D., LL.D., formerly president of the Chinese Imperial University. Illustrated from photographs. New York: *Double-day Page and Company*. 1907. And now comes in one speaking with authority on the evolution of China, the greatest movement of modern times. Japan has had her day, a sensational day. Such triumphs as she has made cannot be permanent. Moreover the world has little confidence in Japanese character. Where the Chinese inspire implicit confidence the Japanese inspire distrust. Those who by long life with them know them best, say that it is not an honest race, but even those allow that it is impossible for the western races to understand the Japanese character.

Any one conversant with the history of these nations in the last forty years knows that the bone of contention between Japan and Russia was Korea. Each of these nations considered their hold on that peninsula to be absolutely necessary to their own security. Some of us remember what our present administration seems to have forgotten, that the United States recognized Korea as an independent state and opened diplomatic relations with it. While it is not to be denied that Japan, if it can afford fleet enough to control the eastern seas as England has in her day controlled the western, will long hold a commanding influence over the Mongolian kingdom. But the awakening of China may prove a check to her ambition. The story of this great political evolution is told by Mr. Martin in this superbly printed and illustrated volume. It covers the ground in three parts: I The Empire in outline, II History in outline from the earliest times to the Eighteenth Century, III China in transformation, to which is added an Appendix, in which is recited the agency of missionaries in the diffusion of secular knowledge in China. The first of these sections gives an account of the numerous provinces with all of which Mr. Martin is familiar, as he has been a resident of China since 1850. He tells us that the Flowery Land has an area of about 1,500,000 square miles, with a busy population of 400,000,000, but he has no doubt with improved methods "she might very easily sustain double the present number of her population." In the second he gives the history of the origin of the Chinese, and an account of their several dynasties from the earliest period to the Eighteenth Century. But it is in the third, the transformation period, that the reader will find the most instructive information. He arranges it in the form of a drama in five acts. Act I The opium war, II The "Arrow War," III The war with France, IV The war with Japan, V The Boxer war. After this an account of the Russo-Japanese war, of the Reforms in China, and the story of the Manchus, whom

he styles the Normans of China. In this account of the war with Japan it would appear that he is at heart anti-Russian. He does not seem to an impartial observer that the Russian schemes for eastern conquest differ much from those of England and France in the Orient, nor do we see that Japan is much different in her methods, for as the result of her two wars she holds the most important strategic post on the coast, Port Arthur. Japan seems to have understood Captan Mahan's theory of the predominance of sea power, and for a long period at least she will hold this position as England holds Gibraltar. Mr. Martin's most valuable article is on the rapidity with which the Chinese have within quite a short period adopted European ideas. We of America should not forget that one of our earliest commercial enterprises, immediately after the close of the revolution, was the opening of trade with the Celestial Empire. The Empress of China, which sailed from New York on Washington's birthday in 1784, carrying the United States flag, was the pioneer of that fleet to the Orient which, in 1789, had fifteen vessels against the twenty-one ships of the East India Company in the China seas. This trade with our possession of the Philippines we may now reasonably hope to regain. The Chinese exclusion act is, of course, a fearful handicap, but this may be modified and the generosity of the American people in coming to the relief of the famine-stricken country, has no doubt mitigated the resentment of this proud and ancient people.

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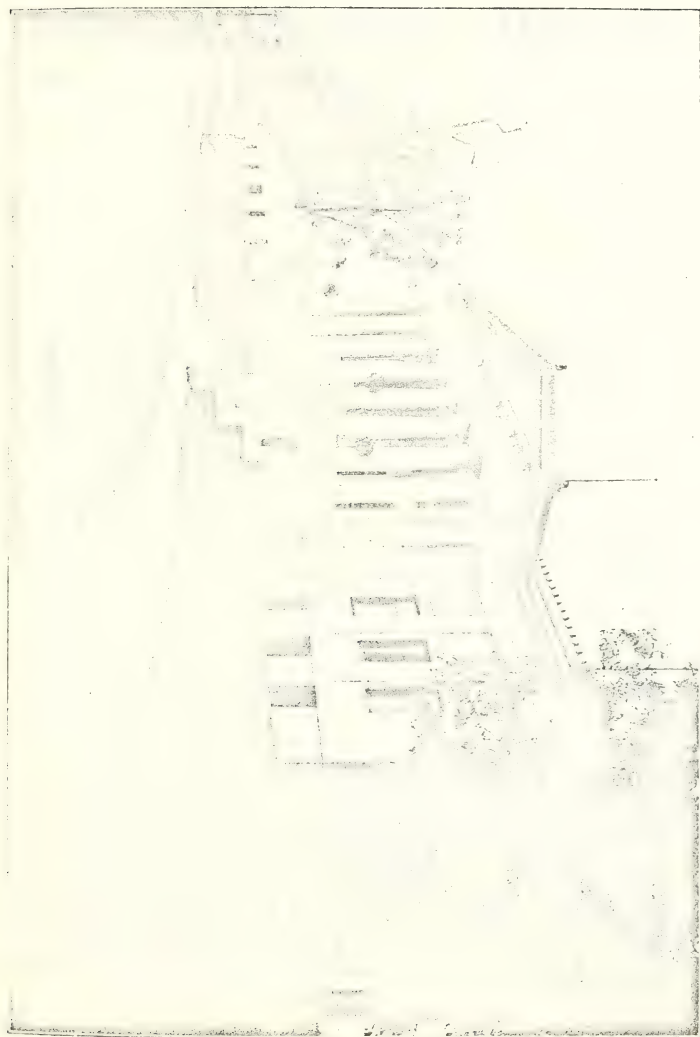
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THE DUKE DE LAUZUN

IN FRANCE AND AMERICA

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

I

IN the great portrait gallery of French history two figures which bear the name of Lauzun stand out from the canvas illustrative types of the periods in which they lived. There was a distant family relation between them, but no derivation by descent in their title.*

The first Lauzun, Antoine de Caumont the rude soldier, was the favorite of Louis XIV and the lover or the husband of La Grande Mademoiselle; history has never settled which; as he abused her after the fashion of the one, and neglected her in that of the other. He was of a Gascon family and was as rough in his manners as the second Duke of the name was elegant and polished. There was something of the traditional brusquerie of the court of Henri IV, Le Vert Galant, in the rough Colonel of Dragoons. He alone of the courtiers of Versailles is related to have spoken insolently to the imperious monarch. He reproached the king to his face for a breach of his promise, and breaking his sword on his knee swore that he would no longer serve a faithless master. Created Duc de Lauzun he commanded as Marshal of France the army of the brilliant military promenade through Flanders which the king made with his entire court. Lauzun fell at the height of his

favor and expiated by a ten years' imprisonment in the fortress of Pignerol his presumptuous ambition, and the hatred of Madame de Montespan; while the Princess, his wife or mistress, sighed her soul away in her beautiful little chateau of Choisi—Mademoiselle. After his release they quarreled for a while and finally separated. So long as the Princess lived Lauzun did not marry, but two years after her death when in his sixty-third year he led to the altar Mademoiselle de Durmont, a relative. He died in 1723 in the ninety-first year of his age. His title expired with him. There seems to be no question that he was a Marshal of France, but strange to say neither his portrait nor his escutcheon appear in the famous "Salle des Marechaux," in the gallery of Versailles, where over three hundred portraits record the military glory and preserve the features of the heroes of France for eight centuries; from the first Marshal of Philippe Auguste to the Captains of the Empire of the Napoleons.

The subject of the present study, Armand Louis de Gontaut, Duc de Lauzun, and later Duc de Biron, was not like his namesake a soldier of fortune. The name of Biron is illustrious in the history of the Bourbons. This ancient family of Perigord—the Gontauts—have given four Marshals to France. They all appear in the gallery at Versailles. The first of them, Armand de Gontaut, baron de Biron, was one of the great captains of his age. Marshal of France he commanded the army of Henry IV at Ivry, and fell at the siege of Epernay. He was Commander-in-Chief in seven pitched battles, and carried a wound from each. It is said of him that when appointed chevalier of the orders of the king, and presented, as was usual, the parchment proofs of his descent, he accompanied the act with the words: "Here Sire is my certificate of nobility," but touching his sword he added, "this is better proof." For a device he chose a lighted gun-match with the words "*Perit sed in armis*," [He fell but in arms], and in fact his head

was carried off by a cannon ball. His son Charles de Gontaut, the second Marshal, made his first campaigns under his father's eye; followed the white plume of Navarre with impetuous bravery, and was exalted with honor. Henry IV was greatly attached to him, and on one battlefield saved his life. The ungrateful Marshal, Duke and Peer, conspired against his royal master with foreign powers, and was brought to the block in the Bastile. For him the king had erected the little town of Biron in the Perigord, one of the most ancient baronies of the country, into a dukedom. Charles Armand de Gontaut, the third Marshal of France of the name, continued the military glory of the family and for a series of honorable service in Flanders and on the Rhine under Louis XIV, and later under the Regent Duke of Orleans, received from the latter the dignity of peer, the extinct dukedom being revived for him. He married Mademoiselle de Bautru de Nogent, a daughter of Lieutenant General, the Count de Nogent, and his wife Diane de Caumout Lauzun, of the Gascon family, from which sprung the lover of "La Grande Mademoiselle." Twenty-six children were the issue of this marriage, of whom twelve died young. Neither war nor love seemed to have had much effect on the constitutions of these hardy grand seigneurs whose lives were passed attending, in the anti-chambers of the king, the boudoirs of the mistresses and the camp or bivouac. He lived to the age of ninety-three years and died, the oldest of the Marshals of France, and of all the General Officers in 1756. He had already resigned his dukedom to his eldest son, Francois Armand de Gontaut, third Duke de Biron (by the resignation of his father). He was succeeded by his brother, Louis Antoine de Gontaut, the fourth Duke. This distinguished officer is the celebrated Marshal Biron, fourth Marshal of France of the name, who appears in such pleasing light throughout the familiar correspondence of the eighteenth century. The letters of Walpole, and of numerous of the friends of Selwyn bear witness to his generosity

and hospitality. Indeed it was said that an English gentleman, travelling post in his own carriage, was sure of a welcome and a home at the Hotel de Biron, the Paris residence of the Marshal, a beautiful house with garden near the Rue de Varennes. His wife of the family of Rochefoucauld, was equally noted among les grandes dames of her day. The old Marshal lived until 1788, and died at the age of eighty-four; like his father, the oldest of the Marshals of France. He was to the last faithful to the traditions of the "Ancien Regime." He has been styled the last of the Grand Seigneurs. But this is too partial a statement, for the Prince de Ligne lived till the restoration, and there is no question of his aristocratic tenacity. The Duke died without issue, and his title was inherited through a family pact (although his brother was still living) by his nephew whose career is the theme of this memoir, but not yet.

Charles Antoine Armand de Gontaut, though not as famous as his brother, the Marshal, was a soldier of distinction. He was Lieutenant General of the King's armies, a Chevalier of his orders, and Lieutenant General of Laugnedoc. In 1758 he was created Duke de Gontaut. He was a personal favorite of Louis XV as well as of his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and he may be said to have lived in their intimacy. He married in 1744 Mademoiselle Crozat du Chastel, the elder daughter of the Marquis du Chastel, who died in 1747, in her nineteenth year, in child birth. Her younger sister was married to the Comte de Stainville, later the famous Duc de Choiseul, the Minister of Louis XV, whom the influence of his brother-in-law, the Duc de Gontaut, with the King and Madame de Pompadour, rapidly advanced to various preferments. All these genealogical details are of certain accuracy.

Before entering upon a sketch of the life of Armand Louis de Gontaut duc de Lauzun, and fifth Duc de Biron, a word must be said of the celebrated autobiography which is

known as the memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun. Doubts have been thrown upon their authenticity, but they were evidently not shared by Talleyrand, the famous Bishop of Autun. On their appearance in 1821 he paid in the house of Peers a striking homage to the Duc de Lauzun, his compatriot of Perigord: "Their need be no surprise," he said, "in the profound impression they will make, for Monsieur le duc de Lauzun was in every way conspicuous. He was handsome, brave, generous and witty." Talleyrand was but seven years the junior of Lauzun. He certainly witnessed many of the scenes the memoirs narrate; he knew the personages and was surely a competent judge of the truth of the narrative. The French literature of the early part of this century abounds in memoirs which are known to be apocryphal. It was the policy of a class of writers under the first Republic and the first Empire to discredit and disgrace the Ancien Regime by this sort of exposure of its follies and vices. Amusing and scandalous incidents were grouped about well known facts with an ingenuity that defies detection. Of these curious and instructive volumes, the *Chroniques de l'Oeil-de-Boeuf*, and the memoirs of Madame de Crequi are examples; both invaluable to the student of history. This was evidently the opinion of Madame de Genlis, governess of the children of the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalite). In her memoirs published in 1825 she says:

"Another abominable production made at this time a great noise in society; the pretended memoirs of M. de Lauzun had been published, and they are nothing but an infamous libel, written on purpose to run down the nobility and ancient court. I glanced over this abominable work for no woman, even at my age, can read it through, and I can truly assert that almost everything in it is false or falsified; the style is wretched, and M. de Lauzun had a very good one. Every known individual is abused without cause, without talent, and without judgment. I am the only person of that period not satirized in it, but

"I do not feel less contempt and indignation for the work. My friend, M. de Cabre, had about thirteen or fourteen years before this time lent me the real memoirs of M. de Lauzun in manuscript. I found a silly foppery in them which the author never displayed in society, but I recognized his turn of mind and habit of humour, his language and a great many anecdotes well known to me. He mentioned Madame de Lauzun and does justice to her sublime virtues, and to her unalterable affection, but in the printed memoirs he pretends that she never could endure him, which is certainly a most abominable falsehood. * * *

"It would be very desirable to find some efficacious means of restraining the impudence and malignity of those who for the purpose of gaining money dare publish defamatory works of their own invention, under the name of memoirs."

It is strange that if as she says there were two memoirs, those which she saw have never been heard of. Of the absolute correctness of his narrative, so far, at least as concerned his American campaign, there can be but one opinion. His dates are always correct, and in some instances are confirmed by American documents printed long after the publication of the memoirs. Those concerning his European life are corroborated by the correspondence of Selwyn and his friends. A note by the editor of the memoirs of "Marie Antoinette by Madame de Campau" says of the "Memoirs of Lauzun."

"They were penned by the Duke de Lauzun at the solicitation of the Duchesse de Fleury, daughter of the Duke de Coigny, a woman whose wits, grace and beauty were justly extolled."

This seems probable as the published memoirs show Lauzun to have been warmly attached to the Duchesse de Coigny, an attachment evidently reciprocated as she followed him to Nantes when he sailed for the United States. This lady lived well into the present century and became an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon. According to the author of the memoirs of the Comtesse Potocka, Madame de

Coigny was never a partisan of the Bourbons, and had no love for Marie Antoinette. She was a daughter of the Marquis de Conflans who was celebrated for his wit and satire.

A few years since on the appearance of the memoirs of the Count de Fersen, who shared with Lauzun the favor of the French court as well as the dangers of the American campaign, the author of this paper published in *Lippincot's Magazine* a sketch entitled "Marie Antoinette, de Fersen and Lauzun," and expressed the opinion from the mutual friendship which those letters showed to exist between the two young noblemen of whom one was to her death the devoted and faithful servant of the hapless queen, and the other, according to the tradition of the time, more than a favored servant, that this friendship was inconsistent with what Lauzun's Memoirs say of the open partiality of this august lady for himself. A late careful comparison of Lauzun's Memoirs with Heneage Jesse's interesting volumes, "George Selwyn and his contemporaries" has led him to a reversal of that judgment, and to a belief in the authenticity of the autobiography of Lauzun, even in its minute details.

Chief among the fair dames whose trains he followed, was the black haired Lady Sarah Lennox, the descendant of Charles II, the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, that beautiful woman whom contemporary familiar letter-writers and grave historians unite in describing as the loveliest, the sweetest of her sex and time. Sir Joshua Reynolds has immortalized her on his canvas. She refused the hand of George the Third: was first of the daughters of peers chosen to assist at his marriage with the little Princess of Mecklenbourg Strelitz; the good Queen Charlotte, of our grandfathers' day. Lady Sarah was married to Sir Charles Bunbury, a gentleman of an ancient Suffolk family, and in 1766 visited Paris where Lauzun, who was two years her junior, and then in his nineteenth year, was already famous in the world of gallantry. Lady Sarah was accom-

panied by her husband and young Charles James Fox, her kinsman, and the youthful Earl of Carlisle, afterwards celebrated as one of the "Commissioners to restore harmony in his Majesty's revolted colonies." Lauzun met Lady Sarah at the Temple, the palace of the Prince de Conti, and accompanied her as far as Calais on her return to England in the spring. Lauzun in his recital of the travel by carriage from Paris to Calais gives an amusing description of the eccentric Charles Lee, later General in the American army of the revolution. He was a nephew of Sir Charles Bunbury. The Bunbury ladies gave trouble to their families. Another, Lady Sarah, daughter of Sir William Bunbury, deserted her husband, Sir Francis Blake, and a large family of her children, and eloped with George Boscawen to whom she was later married. There is quite an account of the Bunbury family of Suffolk in the "Lee Papers," published by the New York Historical Society.

Later upon Lady Sarah's invitation Lauzun crossed the channel and visited her at her home at Barton in Sussex. In the memoirs, her letters to Lauzun with their invitation and promises are printed in full. The passion of the Earl of Carlisle for his beautiful country-woman, is also alluded to. A close collation of the letters of the Earl of Carlisle to his friend Selwyn, confirms Lauzun's statement that he (Carlisle) was madly in love with her, and that a year's travel in Italy did not cure his attachment. The editor of the Selwyn letters has striven to conceal the name of the object of Carlisle's passion. In vain from those who hold the key in Lauzun's memoirs. They find no trouble in adding the wanting letters of the alphabet to the constantly recurring name of Lady S———. Lady Sarah compromised herself for Lord William Gordon in 1769. She was divorced from Sir Charles Bunbury in 1776 by act of Parliament, and in 1781 was married to Colonel George Napier, and became the mother of three illustrious soldiers, one of them the celebrated historian of the Peninsular War. She

lived till 1821, retaining the freshness of her beauty, the loveliness of her nature, and the fascination of her manner to the last. Thackeray alludes to her beauty in old age in his paper on the Four Georges.

It may be that Lauzun left memoranda from which a private autobiography was compiled, but it is hardly credible that he would enter into such details in loose notes of occurrences, or except as an illustration of a continuous narrative allude to the jealousy of young Carlisle. Moreover the style is homogeneous throughout. The memoirs close with the final departure of Lauzun from the United States with the last of the French expeditionary troops in 1783. From these are drawn the greater part of the personal details now given.

The Duc de Gontaut, father of Lauzun, badly wounded at the battle of Ettingen was permitted to withdraw from active service and made his residence at Versailles. Before his marriage he was the intimate friend of the famous De Mailly, Duchesse de Chateauroux, the mistress en titre of Louis the Fifteenth, and of course admitted to the inner circle of the voluptuous monarch. This favorite was succeeded by her sister the Duchesse de Laraugais until her star paled before that of the charming de Pompadour, who was assigned apartments at Versailles in 1745. He survived the Revolution and died in the ninetieth year of his age, 1798. Young Armand Louis, the only child of the Duc de Gontaut, a motherless boy, was brought up at the knees of the king's mistress. He was fortunately taught to write a handsome hand and to read well aloud, rare accomplishments which the Marquise de Pompadour turned to good account. At twelve years of age he entered the Gardes Francaises, of which his uncle, the Marshal de Biron, was the Colonel, a position considered to be the most desirable in the gift of the king, and the reversion of which was promised to him on his uncle's death.

At this early age, as he writes, he was aware that he would some day inherit an immense fortune, and hold this, the highest post in the kingdom, regardless of his personal merit.


When young Armand reached his seventeenth year his father arranged a marriage for him with Mademoiselle Amelie de Boufflers, granddaughter and heiress of the Duchess de Boufflers, (now by a second marriage the Marechale de Luxembourg,) one of the greatest matches of the court. The description of the preliminary interviews is a lifelike picture of the manner in which such matters were managed. The young gentleman was to go to an afternoon ball given by the Marechale de Mirepoix, with whom Mademoiselle de Boufflers was to dine. Here was the occasion for him to see her. At four o'clock he presented himself and found a charming young girl who greatly pleased him. Unfortunately it was not the proposed bride. When the real bride appeared she suffered by the unlucky comparison. To add to the misfortunes of the day the Princess de Beauveau was at a later ball accompanied by her beautiful daughter, with whom Lauzun fell then and there incontinently in love. He made every effort to secure her hand, and had even the courage to speak to his father on the subject; but the Duke did not understand that manner of procedure, and told his son that his word was pledged. The young lady was not insensible to his attention, but when, she being in retirement in a convent on occasion of her mother's death, he ventured to address her a letter asking her consent that his father should open negotiations with the Prince on the subject, she returned the letter without a word of reply. True her governess had unsealed and read it. Indignant at such harsh treatment young Gontaut promised his father to carry out his wishes, but asked two years of delay and freedom to do as he chose beyond the control of his tutor. From his own account he did not waste his time. It was at this period that his intimacy began with

the Prince de Rohan Guemenee, the most extravagant gentleman at court; an intimacy for which Lauzun paid dearly at a later period. The day fixed for his marriage arrived. It took place on the fourth of February, 1766. Mademoiselle de Boufflers brought to him an income of 150,000 livres and great expectations. His own fortune was considerable, and the two united in the future would give one of the largest incomes in the kingdom. Here was a fair foundation for happiness, but although Gontaut was more than attentive to her wishes, her aversion to him was so marked that it would have wounded anyone even with less self-love than his. Fortunately he says he was too just to expect to please a woman who did not please him.

The king at this time created him Duke, and not to confound his title with that of his father or his uncle, he was called the Duke de Lauzun. The title, as has been seen, was brought into the family by the marriage of the celebrated courtier of Louis XIV. It had been recently borne by one of his cousins. There were thus at this time, and indeed till the Marshal's death three dukes in this family of the Gontaut line; only the dukedom of Biron, however, united a peerage with the title. This accumulation of honors was by no means unusual in the house of Gontaut in whose possession there were more than fifty estates carrying titles, and nearly three hundred fiefs or rich domains.

The Marechale de Luembourg who knew from long experience the wickedness of the world, and its infinite variety, had brought up her grandchild as a model of virtue and propriety. Madame Necker, in her *Melanges*, notes the great consideration in which Madame de Lauzun was held while yet quite a young woman, and describes it to her innate purity and the elevation of her character, apparent in every movement and expression. She blushed when anyone looked at her, and blushed again to feel that she was looked at. She is sometimes mentioned as handsome, but this she surely was not in her husband's eyes. "What care I how

fair she be, If she be not fair to me." Lauzun now began the enjoyments of life on a high scale. He lived elegantly with Madame de Lauzun, was publicly the lover of Madame de Cambise, the sister of the Prince d'Henin, and had for a mistress one, little Eugenie, whom he adored. At first out of a respect for his wife, rare at the period, he lodged this little enchantress at Rouen, but when in return for his consideration he received indifference and disdain from his high lady, he put himself at his ease and took a petite maison in the Rue Saint Pierre at Versailles. He played high, paid daily court to the king, at the grandes and petites levers, the grandes and petites converts, or in plain English witnessed the ceremony of the king's getting up and going to bed and eating his dinner or his supper in state or in private. He never failed to follow his majesty to the chase, whether he hunted at far Fontainebleau or in the neighboring parks of Saint Germain, Marly, and Boulogne. He was taken into the intimate friendship of the Prince de Conti, the best of this line of the Bourbon blood. It was at this time that he had his first short liaison with Lady Sarah whom he met with her English friends at supper at the house of Madame Du Deffant, the much abused and witty friend of Horace Walpole. Lady Sarah was either too capricious or too timid at this early period in her career long to permit the attentions of so compromising a gallant. On his return from England with a heart more thoroughly shattered than ever before, de Lauzun heard with delight that his uncle the Duke de Choiseuil, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had resolved on the conquest of Corsica. Such a chance to hear the music of musketry was not to be neglected. Lauzun applied for, and obtained, the appointment of aide-de-camp to Monsieur de Chauvelin who was despatched there with sixteen battalions. Lauzun left at once, June, 1768, for Toulon, where the expedition was to embark, but was forbidden to cross to Corsica before his chief arrived. Learning, however, that fighting had begun he



went on board one of the king's vessels about to sail for Saint-Florent. Put ashore by her commander he crossed the Mediterranean the same night in a fisherman's boat; a piece of disobedience for which he was put under arrest by Monsieur de Chauvelin on the arrival of that commander three weeks later.

This was Lauzun's first campaign. He was eager to win his spurs. That nothing might be wanting to his appearance and character as a preux chevalier, the wife of the Intendant gave him a white plume,* which, worn in his hat, drew to him his full share of bullets from the awkward musketry of the day. There were ups and downs in this campaign as in many another before and since. There was alarm in Bastia, when the news of the disaster of Borgo was brought in and the savage Corsicans were at the gates. Never had Lauzun so enjoyed himself. "All day under fire and a supper at night with the fair lady of the Intendant." The husband was jealous, but that was another variety of being under fire which is not without its charm. In Corsica Lauzun made the acquaintance of the Regiment of Soissonnais, with which he was later to serve in America. Notwithstanding the prodigies of valor of the patriot Paoli, the island was conquered at last, and in June, 1769, the Comte de Vaux who superceded Monsieur de Chauvelin, sent Lauzun, who had acted as his first aid major, to carry the news of victory to the court. He found Louis XV at Saint Hubert engaged, for a wonder in counsel with the Duke de Choiseul. The king received him with kindness, and ordered him to remain as he was, in his riding dress. The new mistress, Madame du Barry, an old acquaintance of his when, as yet unmarried, she was known as "The Angel" from her beauty, entertained him in the salon until the breaking up of the counsel. Lauzun received the cross of Saint

*This was perhaps the very white plume which he "brought home from his travels" and was the cause of a court scandal later.

Louis, as reward for the news of victory, and followed the king and Madame du Barry to Compiègne. Various advancements in service were proffered him, but he remained in the Regiment of the Gardes, out of deference to his father. The king offered to his uncle, the Marshal, to give to his nephew the reversion of the Regiment of the Gardes Française, of which he was Colonel, which as has been said was the most desirable position at court or in the gift of the king. But the old gentleman for reasons he did not deign to explain, declined.

Madame du Barri was at this time at swords' points with the Minister and Lauzun, out of the graces of the ambitious favorite, because of his open declaration that Madame de Lauzun should never set foot within her doors. When by the influence of the favorite and a cabal of the anti-chamber, the Duke de Choiseul was ordered to retire to his estates at Chanteloup Lauzun followed the Minister in his disgrace at the risk of the Bastille to himself.

The Anglo-mania which sprung up in Paris after the peace of 1769, was at this time at its height. Charles Fox in a letter from Paris to Selwyn in 1770, gives a curious picture of high life: "I supped last night with Lauzun, Fitz-James and some others in what they call a *Clob a l'anglaise*, it was in a petite maison of Lauzun's. There was Madame Brisseau and two other women. The supper was execrably bad. However the champagne and Tokay were excellent; notwithstanding which the fools made du ponche with bad rum. This club is to meet every Saturday either here or at Versailles. I am glad to see that we cannot be foolisher in point of imitation than they are. The equipages were in the British style." Lauzun relates that he drove an English phaeton.

Webster was of the opinion that the true sources of modern history are letters and newspapers. From the one now read we learn that the Franco-mania in England was as great, and in passing that Lauzun did not confine himself

to the single petite maison at Versailles mentioned in his memoirs. There was a constant interchange of dress, furniture and food between the two kingdoms. French mirrors and spring velvets were regularly smuggled into England on the backs, or in the baggage, of the very highest of the nobility, while English tea and London fans crossed the channel in exchange. The English races always attracted a crowd of French gentlemen. Lauzun ran his horses at Ipswich and New-Market, and Larangais had his stud in England. In the summer they met, gambled and raced at Spa. Racing was at its height in Paris in the spring of 1776, the year of the American Independence. Marie Antoinette in the bloom of her beauty and buoyant at release from the chains by which she was held in the etiquette of the old court, encouraged by her presence every species of amusement and sport. This spring she witnessed on the plain of Sabilou at the Bois de Boulogne the race for a large stake between the Duc de Chartres, son of the Duc of Orleans, and the Duc de Lauzun. The horses were English, the jockeys were English, and in English dress, the spectators were in English costume. The queen who had just begun to show her favor to Lauzun was greatly interested in this race, and delighted when his horse came in victorious. She did not confine her interest to applause, but as fond of high play and wagers as any gentleman of her court, laid a heavy stake with Lauzun in the autumn at a famous race of a horse belonging to the Count d'Artois against one from the stables of the Duc de Chartres.

It was about this time that the incident of the white heron's plume occurred. Lauzun thus relates it. It was not included in the first edition of his memoirs but appeared in the second. The Queen Marie Antoinette, was at the apartment of Madame de Guemenee, governess of the Royal children, when de Lauzun was admitted.

"The Queen whispered to Madame de Guemenee
"who came to me and said in a low voice, 'are

“‘you very much attached to a white heron’s plumes
“‘which was in your helmet when you took your
“‘leave?’ [Lauzun was expecting to go to Russia to take
“‘service with the Empress Catherine, the Great.] “‘The
“‘Queen is dying for it. Would you refuse it to her? I
“‘replied that I should not dare to offer it to her, but that
“‘I should be very happy if she would accept it from
“‘Madame d’Guemenee. I sent a courier to Paris for it, and
“‘Madame de Guemenee gave it to her the next evening.
“‘She wore it the day after, and when I appeared at her din-
“‘ing hour she asked me what I thought of her head dress?
“‘‘I like it extremely,’ I replied. ‘Never have I been
“‘thought myself so becomingly adorned,’ continued she.
“‘‘It seems to me that I am the possessor of inestimable
“‘‘treasures.’ It would certainly have been better had she
“‘made no remark, for the Duc de Coigny took notice both
“‘of the plume and of what she said. He asked where the
“‘plume came from. She answered with some embarrass-
“‘ment that I had brought it from my travels to Madame de
“‘Guemenee who had given it to her. The Duc de Coigny
“‘spoke of it to Madame de Guemenee in the evening with
“‘considerable temper, and said that nothing could be more
“‘ridiculous and indecorous than the manner which I
“‘assumed to the queen; that it was a thing unheard of for
“‘me to play the lover in such public manner, and incredible
“‘that she should seem to approve it. His remarks were not
“‘well received, and he turned his thought to some contriv-
“‘ance to be rid of me.”

It must not be forgotten that the Duke de Coigny is said to have been desperately attached to the queen, nor that the queen at this period of her life was fond of admiration, and proud of her charms, and did not hesitate to inspire and encourage it.

It is curious to compare this contemporaneous account with that given by Madame de Campan, the queen’s First Femme de Chambre in her memoirs of Marie Antoinette, published in 1823, after the appearance of those of Lauzun.

“‘I was one day,” she says, “‘in the Cabinet when the
“‘Duke de Lauzun passed through it after an occurrence
“‘which requires some explanation. The Duc de Lauzun

“(since Duc d’Biron) who made himself conspicuous in
“the revolution among the associates of the Duc d’Orleans,
“has left behind him some manuscript memoirs, in which
“he insults the name of Marie Antoinette. He relates one
“anecdote respecting a heron’s plume. The following is a
“true history of the matter. The Duke de Lauzun had a
“good deal of original wit and something chivalrous in his
“manner. The queen was accustomed to see him at the king’s
“suppers, and at the house of the Princesse de Guemenee;
“and always showed him attention. One day he made his
“appearance at Madame de Guemenee’s in full uniform, and
“with the most magnificent plume of white heron’s feathers
“that it was possible to behold. The queen admired the
“plume and he offered it to her through the Princesse de
“Guemenee. As he wore it the queen had not imagined he
“could think of giving it to her: much embarrassed with
“the present which he had, as it were drawn upon herself,
“she did not dare to refuse it nor did she know whether
“she ought to make one in return; afraid if she did not
“give anything, of giving either too much or too little she
“contented herself with wearing the plume once and letting
“M. de Lauzun see her adorned with the present he had
“made her. In his secret memoirs the Duke attaches
“importance to the present of the aigrette which proves
“him utterly unworthy of an honor accorded only to his
“name and rank. His vanity magnified the value of the
“favor done him. A short time after the present of the
“heron’s plume he solicited an audience; the queen
“granted it as she would have done to any other nobleman
“of equal rank. I was in the room adjoining that in which
“he was received. A few minutes after his arrival the
“queen opened the door and said aloud and in angry tone
“of voice: ‘Go, Sir.’ M. de Lauzun bowed his head and
“withdrew. The queen was much agitated. She said to me,
“‘That man shall never again come within my doors.’”

No confirmation of this scene appears in Lauzun’s account, but there is abundant evidence that he was not excluded from the queen’s apartments or deprived of her favor. That this favor was at its height when a few years later he was in America with Rochambeau, is shown by the letters which de Fersen wrote to his father from

Newport in 1780, when these young men were campaigning together. Speaking of his own advancement in the service, de Fersen says: "The Duc de Lauzun writes on the "subject to the queen, who is full of fondness for him; she "has little for me." This, it must not be forgotten, was in 1780, long after the incident of the heron's plume, which was in 1776 and should satisfy any one of the falsity of Madame de Campan's narrative. And in 1783, when the mother of Captain Asgill (who had been sentenced to death by Washington, but whose life was saved by the intercession of Marie Antoinette) was presented at Fontainebleau to thank Her Majesty, it was Lauzun who was charged with the presentation.

Already by his 'extravagance de grand Seigneur' Lauzun had in 1776 compromised his large fortune of four million of livres. His debts, some of which were pressing, reached a million and a half and the Marechale de Luxembourg was alarmed for the fortune of her granddaughter. Lauzun immediately signed all the papers required for the security of his wife and sold his landed estates to the Prince de Guemenee, receiving in return a sum in ready money sufficient to provide for the claims of his marriage contract, of which he procured the dissolution so far as regarded property. There remained to him a handsome house in which he had a life estate, about five hundred thousand francs in money, and the engagement to him on the part of the Prince de Guemenee of an annual income of eighty thousand francs. Of this he offered a half to Madame de Lauzun, but was refused. Madame de Luxembourg wished to take her home, "and the diamonds I had "given her were sent back to me. I deposited them with "a notary." This was but comparative ruin, and did not affect his favor or his prestige.

This year Madame de Geulis and Madame Potocka founded the order of "La Perseverance," which soon counted in its ranks ninety chevaliers of the highest society.

The requisites of admission were to divine an enigma, solve a moral problem, and a gold medal was the reward of three well-proven virtuous actions. A temple of honor decorated with the devices of the members was set up in the garden of Lauzun. Ridicule soon ended this pretty order. Another amusement of high society was the unravelling of gold and silver from stuffs. For awhile it was the rage. Every day and several hours a day the nobility of both sexes sat around a table, unravelling the contents of a green bag; the men supplied the materials. Some of the ladies made a hundred louis a year by their industry, and no wonder. The Duc de Lauzun gives to Madame de V. a harp of full size covered with gold thread. The Count de Loewendahl a golden fleeced sheep, which cost two or three thousand francs for the whole animal and brought to the fair fingers which picked its wool but five to six hundred livres. There is countless testimony to the fascinations of Lauzun. He was the favorite guest of the select dinners of the Princess de Rohan-Rochefort, when Madame Vigee Lebrun, herself one of the illustrations of the period, says of him that "the most agreeable of all "was the Duc de Lauzun; none other possessed such wit "and humor."

II

While, like Ulyssus in the enchanted isle, Lauzun was basking in the smiles of a score of nymphs of every clime and nation, the beautiful Polish princess, Czartoriska, the sprightly Lady Barymore, loveliest of the Stanhopes, the last English rage, and his own fair country woman, the Vicomtesse of Laval Montmorency, the trumpet of war was sounded. True to his race, he craved for service. Offering his sword to the Empress Catherine, who was menacing Turkey, she promised him a command of a body of Light Horse. He was about leaving for Petersbourg,

when the news of the defeat of Burgogne at Saratoga decided Monsieur de Maurepas, the French Minister, to send the forces of France to the aid of the Americans. In the following March, 1778, Lauzun submitted to Maurepas an examination into the condition of the defences of England and its possessions in the four quarters of the globe, and to McNecker a plan to bring to bankruptcy the Bank of England; an operation as he describes it in his memoirs simple as turning your hand. The veteran financier did not see it in the same light. After a little diplomacy in England, where his good sense was of service to the Ministry, Lauzun returned to the continent, bringing with him a young English woman, and established himself in a little chateau near Adres on the Calais coast. He busied himself with putting his regiment in order. Several plans for the invasion of England were proposed and dropped. A great revolution in the Indies was also planned. Lauzun turned over his regiment of Royal Dragoons to his kinsman, Monsieur de Gontaut, and, while still reserving his rank among the land troops, passed to the Marine Department and in three months performed the unexampled feat of raising, arming and equipping a superb corps of two thousand men. One evening he saw in the London Magazine the condition of the English possessions and garrisons on the coast of Africa, and proposed to detach a man-of-war and a body of men from the Indies Squadron, when it stopped at the watering-place of the Good Cape Islands and with it to make a descent. This plan was approved and, by an admirably conducted coup-de-main, he seized the Senegal, (Gambia,) which he occupied. He established order and left the colony, to the regret of all parties. On his return, so far from obtaining the promotion he deserved, he had to struggle against the intrigues of de Sartines to preserve his rank in the army. The difficulty was at last settled by his appointment as colonel-proprietor and inspector of a legion to be composed of eighteen hundred foot and

six hundred horse, which were never to be separated. This and other promises the Minister of War was unable to fulfill and the Duke was obliged to be satisfied with eight hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry, a formation designated by the name of the Foreign Volunteers of Lauzun, of which he was colonel-proprietor. This legion was attached to the expeditionary corps which, under the command of Rochambeau, left Brest on the twelfth of May, 1780. For want of transportation a brigade of infantry and a third of the artillery of the army and a third of Lauzun's regiment were left behind. Lauzun embarked on *La Provence*, a man-of-war of sixty-four guns. This squadron, under the orders of the Chevalier de Teruay, after a slight skirmish in the open sea, and a second still more insignificant with the escort of a convoy at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, anchored in the harbor of Newport, after a passage of seventy-two days, on the morning of the eleventh of July, 1780. The story of the French army in America is too well known to need repetition here;—the alarm of the first days, when sick, disorganized and not yet entrenched, the force was threatened by Arbuthnot's English squadron, the summer and winter in the town, the march to the Westchester camp of the allies, the menace of New York—the British stronghold—and the rapid movement from King's Ferry to Yorktown and its glorious close with the capture of Cornwallis in the autumn of the next year, are familiar in all their details. Lauzun's memoirs deserve examination by all historians.

Lauzun was quartered in Newport in the house of Deborah, the widow of Dr. William Hunter, who died in 1777, one of the earliest surgeons of distinction in the colonies. He had marched to Canada with the Provincial troops in the French war. The house in which his widow, with her daughters, was then living is now known as No. 172 Thames street, near the corner of Mary.

The Widow Hunter was the daughter of Colonel Godfrey Malbone. Lauzun describes her as thirty-six years of age, and it is a strong proof of the authenticity of the memoirs and the accuracy of the writer that her birth is found recorded as of November 23, 1744. She was, at the time that Lauzun was her tenant, about completing her thirty-fifth year. The daughters, two of whom he mentions, were Catherine, Nancy and Eliza. The eldest could hardly have been over seventeen. All three accompanied their mother to Europe in 1786. They never returned to America. Two married abroad, the third died single at Pisa in 1848. Their charms are preserved in miniature, that of Eliza, by Copley, representing her as even more beautiful than Catherine, to whose high breeding Lauzun bears witness, and who was the toast of the French officers. The late Dr. David King, of Newport, makes mention of the entertainments at "the house of the widow," but Lauzun says that they lived very quietly and saw scarcely any one. There is another current tradition that, English in sympathy, they entertained the British officers during their occupation of Rhode Island, but, as they took possession in December, 1776, and Dr. Hunter died in January, 1777, this is improbable to say the least. Lauzun did not long enjoy this pleasant society, but was sent into winter quarters at Lebanon in the State of Connecticut for the greater convenience of forage for his horses. He found it a Siberia in the cold winter of 1780 to '81, and the dullness of his life was only diversified by occasional visits to headquarters at Newport. Heath notes a visit to Washington in February, 1781, and Lauzun relates his narrow escape from drowning by the moving ice in the North River. They deserted their boat and were three hours reaching the shore, passing from block to block. Cavalry was scarce in the American army and each of the marching generals solicited from Washington the help of Lauzun's Legion. Greene, appointed to the southern department in 1780, was answered that it could

not be detached from the French army, and Lafayette was very urgent that it might be sent to him to Virginia in May of the next year. Lauzun would gladly have served under either of these commanders, but Rochambeau would not part with this the advance guard, the eyes, of his army. Lauzun, holding at Lebanon a half-way position between the allied headquarters, was the medium of communications between the generals. The American Dragoons, which guarded the line, were withdrawn by Washington and Lauzun's Hussars undertook this service. During the whole of the march of Rochambeau's forces, Lauzun protected his flank. Washington thanked him in general orders for the very extraordinary zeal of his officers and men in their rapid march and his assistance in the movement on New York. Of his skirmish before Gloucester with the British Dragoons, in which Tarleton was unhorsed by Lauzun himself and narrowly escaped capture, both of the commanders have left an account. Washington, in his general orders, thanked Lauzun for his gallantry on this occasion, and from him we learn that Lauzun was slightly wounded in the affair. All the French officers who left written diaries testify to his excellence as an officer. To use the words of Cromot de Bourg, aide to Rochambeau, "even in minor actions he set the best possible example to the army." But the highest testimony to his character is that of de Fersen. "Opinions," he wrote to his father, "are very much divided concerning him. You will hear good and bad reports of him [no doubt from France]; the first are right, the second are wrong. If those who say them knew him, they would change their minds and do justice to his heart." And again: "I cannot repeat to you often enough, my dear father, how much I am attached to the Duke de Lauzun, and how fond I am of him; he is the noblest soul and most straightforward character that I know." Lauzun was selected by Rochambeau to carry the news of the

capture of Cornwallis to court. He found his friend, Monsieur de Maurepas, on his death bed and cheered his last hours by the tidings of victory. The king treated him with the utmost kindness, but the Minister, Monsieur de Castrins and de Segur were so niggardly in their favors to the army and tardy in their recognition of their services, that Lauzun, with his usual independence, indignantly declined to be the bearer of these despatches, and complained bitterly of the faithless manner with which they had dispatched to the four quarters of the earth that part of his corps which he had left behind on his embarkation for America and now needed in reinforcement of his Legion. He returned in the spring and was one of the distinguished band of high officers who sailed in the *Aigle* and the *Gloire*, and narrowly escaped capture with the commander of one of the vessels in the disaster of the thirteenth of August, 1781, at the mouth of the Delaware. The Legion of Lauzun, during his absence, was under the command of Monsieur de Choisy and was held within supporting distance of General Greene's army. After the departure of Rochambeau's corps on the twenty-fourth of December from Boston, Lauzun still remained with his corps at Washington's request, and, in the commander-in-chief's distrust of English good faith, it was not until after the definite arrangement of Sir Guy Carleton for the final occupation of the territory that he was willing to part with the Duke. Washington's letter of the tenth of May to the gallant nobleman shows his appreciation of his character and services. He says:

"Your particular services, sir, with the politeness, "zeal and attention, which I have ever experienced from "you, have made a deep and lasting impression on my "mind, and will serve to endear you to my remembrance. "It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have had "further opportunity to give you, in person, the assurances "of my regard, could your orders have admitted your

"longer continuance in the country. But my regret at parting with you will be somewhat softened by the flattering hope you are pleased to give me that I may have the satisfaction of embracing you again in America, where you may be assured I shall ever most sincerely rejoice in an opportunity of having it in my power to convince you of the very particular esteem and attachment, with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Lauzun was at Newport on a visit to the Hunters when the "Washington" frigate in March brought the news of the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States, which had been signed the thirtieth of November preceeding. He returned at once to Wilmington in Delaware, and, embarking the last of the French troops in America, sailed from the Capes on the twelfth of May, and, it may well be supposed, with a heavy heart, for he had heard during the winter of the frightful bankruptcy of the Prince de Guemenee, the most disgraceful financial catastrophe of the century. He knew his own fortune was probably irretrievably lost, but that did not hinder the generous gentleman from assuring his friend that in all times and places, and under all circumstances, he might rely on his sympathy.

At this period of his life he was deeply attached to Madame de Coigny, an attachment which had an influence on his every movement. Something must have been saved from the general wreck of his fortune, for there is record of his entertainment of strangers in Paris at his villa near Montrouge, on the Orleans road, in the neighborhood of the palace of Sceaux, in December of this year.

As the autobiography of Lauzun closes on the eleventh of March, 1782, the day on which he sailed from Wilmington, Delaware, for France, the memoirs of the period must be searched for anecdotes of his life after this date. The Baroness d'Oberkirch, a native of Alsace and an intimate friend of the Grand Duchess of Russia, leaves a curious

entry in her journal which, considering the state of party feeling in France at the time, must not be too literally accepted. On the thirty-first of May, 1782, she records a visit made with her husband to the Princess de Bourbon, at her mansion, a charming house with gardens, on the Rue de Varennes. The Princess was a fascinating woman, then about thirty-three. The daughter of the Duke of Orleans, father of Philippe Egalite and the famous Princesse de Bourbon-Conti, she was, as she said of herself, all Conti and had no trace of Orleans. She was not handsome, but agreeable, fond of the arts and a good friend. She had separated from her husband, who was still enamoured of her in 1780. She had, as she said, "seen everything, lived "everything, and was weary of all." Her intimates at this time were the Princesse d'Henin and the Duchesse de Lauzun. The Princesse d'Henin was the lady with whom Lafayette managed later to correspond from his Olmutz prison and who devoted her talent and money to obtain his rescue. She was then an emigree at London. Her husband neglected her and was in 1782 engaged in a liaison with the beautiful actress, Sophie Arnould, of the Comedie Francaise. The Prince had the sobriquet of Le Prince des Nains (the Prince of the Dwarfs, a play on the name). The Baroness writes of the Princess: "She loves her "husband just enough to prevent her hating him and "says she is very glad she (the actress) has something to "occupy him. An idle man is so wearisome."

The visit of the Baroness was made after dinner, which was that year at two o'clock; the next year was changed to three. The Duchesse de Lauzun, whom she also met on this occasion, she describes:

"As one of the most charming women in the world, "well informed, witty, accomplished and of a most amiable "disposition. She was very much admired; but was generally sad on account of the conduct of her husband, "who forsook her society for that of unworthy rivals, and

“who of late had the audacity to proclaim that he was
“deeply enamoured of the queen. Her Majesty could not
“endure him. An anecdote of this gentleman’s folly was
“whispered in all the drawing rooms of Paris. I say
“whispered because no person would tell it aloud, to spare
“the feelings of his estimable wife. It is said that he
“had the effrontery to assume the queen’s livery and
“follow her all day as a lackey and even spent the night
“crouched at the door of her apartments. The queen did
“not even recognize him; he was in deep despair when
“fortunately an opportunity offered of making himself
“more conspicuous. Her Majesty was to drive from Trianck
“and at the moment she approached her carriage, he bent
“his knee to the ground so she might tread upon it instead
“of the usual step. Her Majesty, surprised, looked at
“him for the first time, but, like a woman of tact and good
“sense as she was, she did not pretend to know who he
“was, and, calling a page, she said: ‘I desire that man
“‘should be dismissed; he is very awkward; he does not
“‘even know how to open a carriage door.’ She passed
“on. M. de Lauzun was cut to the soul, but, profiting by
“the lesson he had received, he had very seldom after
“appeared at court. Madame de Lauzun does not com-
“plain or even upbraid her husband, but she is generally
“silent and sad.”

We repeat that this story is incredible in view of the incident of the presentation of Lady Asgill to the queen by Lauzun at Fontainebleau the next year. And though few notices of him later are found as in any of court circles, yet it must be remembered that he was of the party of reform which the Duke of Orleans led and of which Lafayette was the soul. This party and their leaders, the extravagant queen, who was at this time losing heavily at Pharaon, the fashionable game, detested because they sought to restrain her reckless waste of money in the general disorder of the finances of the kingdom.

Of Lauzun’s life at this period Craddock, who visited Paris in the autumn of 1783, gives some interesting details. Craddock carried letters from Sir John Irwine and Mr.

Meynell, English sportsmen, to the old "Marshal Biron "and his nephew, the Duke de Lauzun." The Duke of Orleans, with whom Lauzun was intimate, had hunted foxes with Mr. Meynell, in company with the Duke of York and Earl Spencer and Lauzun had lodged on the same occasion with Mr. Craddock in his house in Leicestershire. Lauzun's house at Montrouge was kept by a Mr. Frank and his wife, natives of Leicestershire, whom Craddock had commended to the Duke "to superintend his domestic "arrangements." They were often purveyors to the French king and queen, as well as to the Duke of Orleans, making purchases for them on their many visits to London, and for nearly thirty years had presided over a small English establishment at Montrouge. Craddock says that Montrouge was originally chosen by Lauzun for a residence, "as "he could visit Versailles and other chateaux across the "fields without passing through the streets of Paris." How generously Lauzun repaid Craddock's hospitality appears in the Englishman's journal: "Every offer was made to "us of English articles for our use at the Hotel de York, "where we were altogether exceedingly well accommodated; but my wife would take charge of no more than "some very plain ones; the Duke, however, insisted on supplying us regularly with game, port wine and bottles of "most excellent old English beer. A cabriolet was kept "for Franks, and his wife, and one or other of the family "almost daily furnished us with information that it was "from the same bountiful source." Lauzun followed these civilities by a visit in form to Mr. Craddock, at the Hotel de York, which stood on the Rue Jacob Fanbourg St. Germain, and was the house at which Jay put up during his and Franklin's negotiations for the peace. Lauzun's visit was returned by Craddock, who was caught fast in a snow drift on New Year's day, 1784, close to the Duke's house. The Duke saw the mishap from his window and sent out the servants to the relief. "He received me with the greatest

"cordiality. I entreated him to speak English, but he "resolutely obliged me to practice French, which I was "always conscious, alas! partook too strongly of its English origin. However, we compromised the matter, and "I passed a very pleasant day in his company. As I had "no change of dress with me, he insisted that his own "chariot should convey me home by a different route." In July Craddock mentions a grand entertainment given by Lauzun to a royal duke (English, of course). In 1788 the old Duke de Biron died and his brother, the Duke de Gontaut, father of Lauzun, declining the title, it fell to the Duke de Lauzun. But not with it the succession of "Colonel of the Gardes Francaises," as had been promised him, which was given to the Duc de Chatelet. Madame de Campan ascribes this change to the queen's aversion to Lauzun, but the weight of historic authority does not confirm this. Courcelles, in his *History of the French Peers*, says that the unfortunate impression the derangement of his affairs left upon the court outweighed the general interest which the services of the Duke de Lauzun had inspired. Courcelles adds: "This injustice blinded the "noble and generous Duke de Biron and threw him into the "arms of the Duc d' Orleans." This is an error also, for high authority states that while "he confessed the weakness of both himself and the Duke of Orleans, he declared "that by their party the king and monarchy must ultimately "be saved," and this was the opinion of Lafayette and of Mirabeau.

On the fifth of May, 1789, the Duc de Lauzun, or de Biron, as he must now be called, took his seat in the hall of the Hotel of the Menus Plaisirs at Versailles, in the Assembly of the States General. To that, the last representation of the ancient regime, he was deputy from the nobility of Quercy, a town in Guienne, one of the many ancient Marquisat fiefs of the Gontaut-Biron family. He was

of the party known first as of the Duke of Orleans and later as Fayettists. They believed that France was not ripe for a republic and favored a constitutional monarchy. The deliberations of this body ended in the famous declaration of the "rights of man." Dumas happily divides the great revolution into three periods, the revolution of '89, of the Neckers, Sieyes and Bailly; that of Mirabeau, Lafayette and Barnave, which ended in 1792; that of Danton, Marat and Robespierre, the reign of terror of '93. Over this entire period the light of the peaceful dawn of '89 still lingered, but that luminous sky was streaked with blood-red clouds. No American can read the history of the constituent assembly without remarking with interest that it was the young Vicomte de Noailles, who had gallantly served in the American campaign as the 'colonel en second' of the Regiment Soissonais, that moved as an indispensable condition of any reform, the abolition of feudal rights and the equality of taxation, and that he was seconded in this motion by the Duke de Montmorency, who, under the title of the Marquis de Laval, commanded the Regiment Bourbonnais in the same campaign. This, which was the initial resolution of the constitution of '91, is the corner-stone of French liberty, a stone the French officers helped to hew with their swords from the American quarry. Nearly all of the noblemen who served in America are to be found in support of the liberal movements in France of 1789. Lauzun does not appear to have taken an active part in the deliberations, but he is found with his wonted fidelity defending the Duke of Orleans from unjust attack.

When the emigrated nobles, whose numbers are estimated, with their families, as not less than one hundred thousand, gathered about Coblenz, where the Count de Provence, the king's brother, had formed a nucleus for invasion and invited the armed aid of the coalition of kings, the National Assembly summoned France to the

frontier for its defence. Of the three general officers who had ever commanded as many as two thousand men, two Rochambeau and Lafayette were French; the third, Luckner, a foreigner. With Rochambeau on the northern frontier were the flower of his American officers—Custine, Noailles and the Dillons. In the plans of campaign which followed Lauzun (now Biron), appointed lieutenant-general, was independently charged with the defence of the Rhine. Montesquieu, who had served in the United States on the staff of de Chastellux, was detached to the conquest of Savoy; the determination of the military leaders being to hold or secure by conquest the natural frontiers of France. Lauzun, at first unfortunate at the north by the treachery of his troops, was entirely successful in his defence of the centre, when left to his sole command, and, superceding Montesquieu in the army of Savoy, won a signal victory over the Piedmontese at Sospello near Nice. Transferred in '92 to the Vendee, where the rebellion of the devotees of religion and aristocracy rose and subsided like the ocean tide, he found himself thwarted in his plans by the Representatives of the committee of safety of the now radical Assembly, which was jealous of even the most loyal of the aristocratic officers. While arranging for the defence of the coast, which a gathering of the emigres in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey and an English squadron off the coast threatened, the Representatives of the Committee interfered with his dispositions for the reduction of the Vendee. During his efforts to organize the army, enforce discipline and stop the plunder which was demoralizing his troops, he had arrested one Rossignol, a turbulent officer, an emissary of Marat and leader of the Club of the Cordeliers. The Representatives disapproved of the order of campaign agreed upon and suggested one of their own, whereupon Biron resigned the command. Denounced by the Representatives, he was arrested, taken to Paris and thrown into the prison of Sainte Pelagie. On the thirtieth of December,

1793, he was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the general charge of having favored the Vendéens; the arrest of Rossignol being one of his crimes. The denunciation of the "Representatives in mission" to the department, supported by the unfavorable account Santerre gave of him from personal observation, were sufficient for the purposes of his accusers. After this summary proceeding Biron was declared "guilty of a conspiracy with the enemies of the republic and condemned to death." A smile curled his lip as he heard the sentence.

The next day he was led to the guillotine. His biographer says of him: "Quite calm all that day (of his trial) and the morning of the next, he ate well and slept well. 'Self-controlled, as was his habit, he retained his serenity. When the executioner came for him he was about beginning a dozen of oysters. 'Citizen,' said he, 'permit me 'to finish these.' Then, offering him a glass, he added: 'Take this wine; you must feel the need of it in such a business as yours.' And gave himself into his hands.'"*

All accounts agree that on the scaffold he showed the greatest firmness. Even Adolphus, with whom the heroes of the Revolution find little favor, says of him: "That in going to the scaffold he saluted his fellow-prisoners with the dignified air of an old courtier, and submitted to his fate without repining." After his death the enemies of the nobility industriously circulated a story which was eagerly adopted by the enemies of the revolution, which found credence with English narrators, and even Courcelles has embodied in the sketch of Biron given in his monumental work; to effect that in prison he bitterly deplored his political course, and that his last words on the scaffold were: "I have been a rebel to my God, my Order and my king, but I die full of faith and repentance," words improbable, inconsistent with his character, and at variance with his whole career. The affectionate words of Washington and the testimony of de Fersen to the nobility of

Biron's character have been given. A contemporaneous authority says of him on this point: "It is but justice to his private character to say that, although he was not wholly untinctured with many of the follies of a corrupt age, he was, nevertheless, universally beloved and almost idolized by his family and servants."

The Duchesse de Lauzun, his wife, was twice arrested. The first time she was released by the Convention on the written prayer of her husband, then on duty in the field. A second time imprisoned, her fate was certain. She suffered on the guillotine the twenty-seventh of June, 1794. There was no issue to this marriage. This branch of the Gontaut-Biron family ended with the general.

BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT

BY DELIA A. MC CULLOCH

IN the Niles Register of May 3rd, 1817, appeared the following "Official Report" of the battle of Point Pleasant. This valuable and authentic piece of history, without a signature, was given for publication by Charles S. Todd.

He was a descendant of John Todd, who was born in 1750, whose home was in Louisa county.

When the expedition started, he went with the Botetourt company, as Aid or Adj. to Captain John Lewis, son of the General. After the battle, Col. Fleming having been seriously wounded, he took charge of the "Orderly Book," until the troops crossed the Ohio, when it is supposed he accompanied them, as the book was again taken up by Col. Fleming.

It was through this ancestor no doubt that Charles S. Todd came into possession of this report, the same, sent by Isaac Shelby, and other prominent men in the battle, to their friends at home, along with a statement of the battle, made out by General Lewis.

MATERIAL FOR HISTORY

The following article details an account of what was probably the most obstinate battle, ever fought with the Indians. The history of it was fast passing into oblivion, with its actors; but it is happily rescued, in consequence of our project about publishing a collection of revolutionary papers, speeches, etc. It was communicated to the editor,

from a source that guarantees its authenticity, with the following remarks,—“Your intention to collect revolutionary documents, is highly approved by us. It is in my power to furnish authentic papers in relation to important events, heretofore imperfectly detailed. Some of which indeed have entirely escaped the historian. I enclose you the original report (and a copy lest you may not be able to decipher it) of the battle fought at the mouth of the Kenhawa, 10th of October, 1774. This statement is official, and was made on the ground the morning after the action; not more than five copies were preserved, and I am credibly informed that it is now the only remaining official document, in relation to that important transaction.

I do not know that my efforts may be within scope of your plans, to publish revolutionary speeches, orations, etc., but I propose to transmit to you in the course of the year, authentic documents respecting the campaign led by Governor Dunmore, with 1,500 troops, against the N. W. Indians, in the fall of 1774, the left wing of whose army, consisted of 1,000 riflemen, fought the battle of Point Pleasant, early in the same month, in which the first revolutionary congress convened, also respecting an important battle fought at the “Great Islands” upon the Holstein, by Captain James Thompson, and James Shelby, with the Cherokee Indians, led by the celebrated Chief “Dragon Canoe,” in the Summer of 1776, in which the latter was signally defeated—also respecting a campaign against the Southern Indians in 1779, led by Evan Shelby, with 1200 riflemen—500 of whom were of the army of George R. Clark, which campaign terminated in the destruction of their establishment at “Chickamango”, just above “Muscle Shoals,” on the Tennessee also respecting two severe actions, fought at the “Enoree” and “Cedar Spring” on the waters of Broad River, South Carolina, in the summer of 1780, against superior British force, by 800 riflemen, led by Col. Shelby, and the celebrated Col. Clark of Georgia.”

“Camp on Point Pleasant

At the mouth of the Great Canaway, October, 1774.

For the satisfaction of the public, in this they have a true statement of the battle fought at this place, on the 10th instant. Monday morning about half an hour before sunrise two of Captain Russell's company discovered a large party of Indians, about a mile from camp, and brought in the intelligence; two or three minutes after, two of Captain Shelby's men came in, and confirmed the account.

Col. Andrew Lewis being informed thereof, immediately ordered out Col. Charles Lewis to take command of one-hundred and fifty men, of the Augusta troops, and with him went Capt. Dickenson, Capt. Harrison, Capt. Willson, Capt. John Lewis of Augusta, and Capt. Lockridge, which made the first division. Col. Fleming was ordered to take command of one-hundred and fifty more, consisting of Bote-tourt, Bedford, and Fincastle troops, which made the second division. Col. Charles Lewis' division marched to the right some distance from the Ohio. Col. Fleming with his division, up the bank of the Ohio, to the left. Col. Lewis had not marched quite a mile from camp, when about sunrise an attack was made on the front of his division, in a most vigorous manner, by the united tribes of Indians, Shawnees, Delawares, Mingoos, Taways, and several other nations, in numbers, not less than eight hundred, and many thought to be a thousand. In this heavy attack Col. Charles Lewis received a wound, which in a few hours occasioned his death, and several of his men fell on the spot. In fact the Augusta division was forced to give way to this heavy fire of the enemy. In about a second of a minute after the attack on Col. Charles Lewis' division, the enemy engaged the front of Col. Fleming's division on the Ohio, and in a short while the Col. received two balls through his left arm, and one through his breast, and after animating the officers and soldiers, in a most calm manner to the pursuit of victory, retired to camp.

The loss of the brave colonels from the field, was sensibly felt by the officers in particular, but the Augusta troops being shortly (after) reinforced from camp, by Col. Field with his company, together with Capt. McDowell, and Capt. Stuart from Augusta, and Capt. Arbuckle, and Capt. McClenahan from Botetourt, the enemy no longer able to maintain their ground, was forced to give way, till they were in line with the troops of Col. Fleming, left in action on the bank of the Ohio. In this precipitate retreat, Col. Field was killed. Capt. Shelby was then ordered to take command. During this time which was after twelve o'clock, the action continued extremely hot, the close under-brush, many steep banks, logs, greatly favored their retreat, and the bravest of their men, made the best use of them, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded.

After twelve o'clock, the action in a small degree abated, but continued except at short intervals, sharp enough till after one o'clock; their long retreat gave them a most advantageous spot of ground, from whence it appeared to the officers, so difficult to dislodge them, that it was thought most advisable to stand as the line was formed, which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had till then sustained a constant, and equal weight of the action, from wing to wing. It was till about half an hour of sun-set, they continued firing on us scattering shots, which we returned to their disadvantage; at length night coming on, they found a safe retreat. They had not the satisfaction of carrying off, any of our men's scalps, save one or two stragglers, whom they killed before the engagement. Many of their dead they scalped, rather than we should have them; but our troops, scalped upwards of twenty of those who were first killed. It is beyond a doubt, their loss in numbers far exceeds ours, which is considerable.

Field Officers killed—Col. Charles Lewis and Col. John Field. Field Officers wounded—Col. Wm. Fleming. Cap-

tains killed—John Murry, Samuel Willson, Robert McClenahan and James Ward. Captains wounded—Thomas Buford, John Dickenson, and John Skidmore. Subalterns killed—Lieutenant Hugh Allen, Ensign Mathew Brackin, Ensign Cundiff. Subalterns wounded—Lieutenant Lard, Lieutenant Vance, Lieutenant Goldman, and also Lieutenant James Robinson, and about 40 spies, sergeants, and private men killed, and about 80 wounded.

In 1874, a short time before a Centennial was held on the battle field at Point Pleasant, Dr. J. P. Hale the West Virginia historian, was in Belfast, Ireland. He went to the Public Library in hopes of finding something interesting, to present to the people assembled at that Celebration. On looking over the bound volumes, of the Belfast News of 1774, he came across this very same report. He had it reproduced, in the "Charlston Courier," and circulated it among the large crowd gathered on that day, to do honor to these gallant men, buried on the point, of General Andrew Lewis' army. Those buried in the Magazine, or Reservation were taken up, and placed in metallic cases, and reinterred, among the number Col. Charles Lewis, who was identified beyond doubt, by his wound, and also the log coffin, in which he was buried.

The account was dated Belfast (Ireland) and read as follows: Yesterday arrived a mail from N. York, brought from Falmouth by Harriot packet boat. Captain Lee. The caption of the letter was as follows, Williamsburg, Va., November 10th. The following letter is just received here from the camp on Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa dated October 17, 1774. (Here follows the Report as found on Niles Register.)

These reports were sent in letters, by "Runners" to Camp Union, and forwarded from there to Williamsburg, to be inserted in a little paper, called the Virginia Gazette, published by Purdie & Dixon, the only one in the colony.

We can imagine how intense the excitement, and how great the anxiety, to hear something of this battle, which they had heard, had taken place so unexpectedly. Both reports are alike—without signatures, perhaps accidentally omitted at Williamsburg, by the printer.

The battle of Point Pleasant, and its grand results—the peace treaty at Camp Charlotte, and the opening up of all that territory, then known as the Great North West, to the pioneers, has been written by many historians, and others interested in the early history of our country. Many opinions have been expressed as to the part Lord Dunmore took in this Indian Campaign and the treatment of Andrew Lewis by him, from a military stand point; as to his motive for deserting General Lewis so basely, and leaving him to fight so important a battle alone, and to remain out of touch with him for so many days. After the Peace Treaty at Camp Charlotte, the settlers had a rest for a little while, from the raids of the Indians, but the fire only smouldered, to break out with greater fury. We read in the Acts of the Assembly of Virginia, 1803, that William Clendinen was given a longer time, to collect his levies, on account of the raids in the Kanawha Valley, in the years 1792-93-94.

Captain John Stuart one of the prominent men on the frontier, and also in the battle of Point Pleasant, was one of the number that executed the “crooked flank movement,” which created such alarm among the Indians, and was said to have been the cause of their hasty retreat. The companies that went up the creek, were Capt. Mathews’, Shelby’s, and Stuart’s. Though much has been said about this piece of strategy, we find nothing of it in the reports copied, of the accounts of the battle, written at the time, but it was afterwards mentioned by Capt. Stuart, and others, who participated in this memorable engagement.

Rev. Wm. T. Price, of Pocahontas Co., W. Va., a prominent historian of the state, has given to Mr. Jacob Warwick,

of the Warm Springs, Va., who was with General Lewis' army, in charge of the butchers, some of the honor for this "great alarm." He went with his men over the Kanawha river, at early dawn, on the morning of the battle, to butcher cattle, no doubt for the army's supply, when they should cross the Ohio. They heard the firing of guns, but thought it was a salute to Lord Dunmore's advancing host. As the firing continued, they became convinced that it was a battle going on, and they hastened over the river. They found their way up crooked creek, which brought them in the rear of the Indians. Col. Christian had not yet come up with his men, having been delayed, which of course the Indians were informed of, by their runners, and were in constant fear of his arrival. They commenced to fall back, and all attempts to rally them, by their leaders, were in vain. It may be possible that these companies, came up the creek at the same time, and gave the appearance of reinforcements, coming to the support of the whites.

The most authentic history of this campaign, and the men who fought the battle, has been written by Capt. Stuart, and others, who participated in it. These men were in close touch with General Lewis, some of them his near neighbors, and kinsmen, who lived in the same locality, and knew each other from the earliest boyhood, and some of them had even crossed the ocean, coming from old Ireland together.

Some valuable papers on this war, have been preserved in the Hist. Soc. rooms at Madison, Wisconsin, collected and deposited there, long years ago, by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, when our own people were asleep, as to their great value.

At the time of the battle Andrew Lewis was 56 years old; he was a member of the House of Burgesses, from Botetourt county, and a prominent man in the military affairs, both of the Colony, and that of Augusta county. He was over six feet tall, with a commanding presence, that inspired awe. The impression he made upon the Governor of

New York of that day, is too familiar for repetition. Lord Dunmore recognized his strong understanding, fortified by long experience of Border warfare, and sent for him, and desired him to give him his plan for the great campaign, they were about to engage in, which when given, was by him highly approved. (John Lewis Peyton), General Lewis was told by Lord Dunmore, that he himself, would take the Northern Division, and rendezvous at Fort Pitt, and that he should take the Southern, and gather his army at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, W. Va. General Lewis was requested to communicate with his brother, Charles, who was the most noted of the five brothers, in Indian warfare. Governor Dinwiddie years before, had said of General Lewis, "that he knew more of the woods, and the Indian mode of warfare, than any other man." General Lewis after his interview, with Lord Dunmore left for Staunton, and with energy went to work, to raise his army, from the counties of Fincastle, Augusta, and Botetourt, and assisted by his sons, and other efficient men, the army grew rapidly, beyond their highest expectation. The companies as fast as completed, were sent to the encampment at "Camp Union." When the army was ready, they started on their long march of 160 miles over the mountains, to the Ohio river. Those who have enjoyed a trip over the "C & O," can better understand, what that march meant, to those men, at that early day. But they were accustomed to every hardship, and when the bugle sounded at early dawn, on that beautiful October Monday morning, they were ready for the "fray," and went out to meet the foe, whose piercing yells filled the forest, and resounded among the towering trees, and echoed and reechoed, up and down the rivers, for many miles.

General Lewis' army consisted of 1,100 men; according to agreement, Lord Dunmore was to meet him there with 1,500 men. We must now remember that our troubles with our mother country, were assuming a serious aspect. Lord Dunmore knew the character of the men that Andrew Lewis

would gather under his banner; men of strong character, many of whom had been educated at the University of Edinburgh, and other noted colleges of the Old World; men of military training, who had taken part in many wars,—had been at the siege of Derry, and had stood side by side at Bothwell Bridge, and had followed Charles the Pretender, endured persecutions and privations untold, which had driven them to the rocks and caves of their native land. Finally as exiles they had crossed the ocean and sought an asylum, among the mountains, in the wilderness of Augusta, for the sake of Liberty.

If Lord Dunmore knew the intentions of his government, to establish over the North American continent, an unbounded and unlimited authority, which afterwards so fully developed, these were the men for him, “to lose in the wilderness,” if he desired to serve his country, and win for himself the applause of King George, his Sovereign.

The army arrived at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, on the 30th of September, and were piloted through the wilderness, by a skilled back-woodsman, Capt. Mathew Arbuckle, who had been at the mouth of the river in 1764 to dispose of his “pelts” at the trading post, and as has been told, he was acquainted with the best route.

General Lewis was on time, but where was Lord Dunmore? Not hearing from him, the army went into camp on the point, in the forks of the two rivers, which commanded a fine view up and down them, for several miles, thus affording a protection, to the encampment. Here they rested for nine days, and anxiously waited for farther developments. General Lewis was unable to account for Lord Dunmore’s failure to meet him, as he was acting in good faith with the Governor, and up to this time was unconscious, of any intentions on the part of Lord Dunmore, but the most loyal. At Wheeling it was thought that Lord Dunmore received information from his Government, which changed all of the plans, that he had made with General

Lewis. It was known that several Shawnees Chiefs, had visited Lord Dunmore's camp, both before, and after the battle.

There has been a difference of opinion, about the messengers sent by Lord Dunmore, to General Lewis. His son, Col. Andrew Lewis of Bent Mountain, Va., who lived until after 1840, said there was none sent, until his father had crossed the Ohio, when he was ordered to return to his encampment, at the mouth of the Kanawha river.

Col. Lewis said "it was evidently the intention of the old Scotch villain, to cut off Andrew Lewis' army", and Burk the Historian said,—“the division under Andrew Lewis was devoted to destruction, for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the Virginians”. Withers, Doddridge and many others of the early writers expressed the same views, and it was this very same opinion which prevailed in General Lewis' army, that later swelled the ranks of the patriot army, on the first call “to arms.” The Indians were advised of the recruiting of this army by their scouts, and spies, as well as of their departure from Camp Union. They at once began to marshal their confederated tribes, under their great chieftain Cornstalk, this name having been given him as significant of “strength of their nation.” They arranged to strike a decisive blow, but who instigated this movement will never be known. The question arises in our minds,—why did not Andrew Lewis after the battle, follow the vanquished army? It perhaps shows that Cornstalk's army was almost the victor, but fortunately for the whites, did not know it.

At the mouth of Old Town creek, the retreating army crossed the Ohio river, on the rafts that had brought them over; here at an early day was an Indian village, which had been deserted many years before, no doubt on account of the high floods, that had swept the valley, from hill to hill, similar to that of 1884. Old Town creek, is a small crooked stream, winding in and out, through the beautiful farms,

that lie on either side, and empties into the Ohio, about three miles above Point Pleasant. The battle took place, as has been written, and General Lewis sent out scouts, to search for Lord Dunmore's army, "and if they could be found, to beseech Lord Dunmore for humanity's sake to return to them, and assist in caring for the wounded, who were without medicine, or medical attention."

Jos. A. Waddell, of Staunton, Va., a descendant of the noted blind preacher, made famous by Wirt, in his book "The British Spy," writes,—“after burying the dead, and caring for the wounded, General Lewis proceeded to join Lord Dunmore, in order to penetrate the Indian country, in pursuance of the original plan, but an express met him with orders to return to the mouth, of the Big Kenawha.” He crossed on some rafts, left by the Indians in their rapid flight. There was little rain that summer, and the river was low, which made their passage over very easy.

In Col. William Fleming's "Orderly Book" is stated,—"when Col. Lewis left the camp, he gave me the following instruction, Sir,—on my crossing the river with the main body of the troops, you are to take charge of the officers, and the men that remain. Your principal duty be to secure this camp from attacks of the enemy, should any appear, and make the works, that are so far carried on, as complete as you can."

Col. Preston in writing to Patrick Henry, gives this information,—“they were about building a breast-work, at the forks of the river, and after leaving a proper party to care for the wounded, and the provision there, that Col. Lewis could march with upwards of a thousand men, to join his Lordship, so that the whole when they meet, will be about 2,200 choice men.” He also adds that he encloses a return of the killed, and wounded, drawn up by Col. Andrew Lewis. Col. Wm. Russell in a letter to Col. Wm. Preston on the 15th, says,—“about one hour ago, Col. Lewis asked me, if I had written you? I told him no, but would

this evening. He desired me to tell you that he was hurried, and that my letter you would please to accept from both; as I was to include you a state of the battle, fought here on Monday. I have a copy ready, drawn up by Col. Lewis himself, from which you can have an idea of it."

Orders were given after the battle to the men, "to return in slow pace to the camp, carefully searching for the wounded, and to bring them in, also the scalps of the enemy"; and in the report on the 11th, "this day were buried, the men who were slain yesterday, and died last night, in different burying places, and the following officers and gentlemen in the Magazine." All these statements prove, that General Lewis attended to everything necessary, as far as able, before he started again, to try to effect a junction with the Northern Division. The march of the army after leaving the Ohio, was by Salt Licks, and they pushed forward, with astonishing rapidity, considering that the country was an unbroken wilderness, and they were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of falling into an ambush.

At Pickaway Plains General Lewis received orders to "halt," as Lord Dunmore informed him, he was negotiating a "peace treaty," with the Indians. These were the same Indians, that General Lewis had just routed, at the mouth of the Kanawha.

Suspecting the sincerity of his Lordship, and urged by his officers, he determined to go on, and share some of the honors of his victory. He continued his advance, until he was met at Kilkenny Creek by Lord Dunmore, and the Chief White Eye. They were in sight of an Indian village, that had been deserted and fired. He was peremptorily ordered to fall back, as "no farther movement was necessary on the part of the Southern Division, and their presence would alarm the Indians."

The soldiers were very indignant at this treatment of their gallant Commander, in not being allowed to be present at the conference at Camp Charlotte, and they turned

back with great reluctance, and much murmuring. A strong guard had to be placed around the tent, during the interview, to protect Lord Dunmore from the infuriated soldiers.

On the 28th, General Lewis started back to the Ohio river, on his homeward march, returning by Point Pleasant, where they had left so many gallant wounded, and sick. From there the army marched back to Camp Union, where they were disbanded. On November 22nd, Col. Fleming writes in his Orderly Book, "Reached home in safety, being just 3 months gone. Praise be to God." The Stockade fort first built was named "Fort Blair," and for the building of it, the men were assured, "they should be paid extraordinary wages." Lord Dunmore's last official act, was to disband this fort, and garrison, but the State of Virginia soon re-established it, and built a square and much larger structure farther up the Ohio, right on the bank; it was built in a rectangle, with a circle of cabins, in which the settlers lived for protection. This was named Fort Randolph. How long it stood, is not definitely known. It has been told, that Col. Andrew Lewis made a visit here, in 1784, and said "there was little to be seen, of its ruins." Col. Lewis was at Point Pleasant in 1806, which may have been the time he alludes to, and not so far back as 1784? There is certainly at the present time, no trace of the ruins, for a large brick building occupies the site. Nothing has been preserved by the descendants, of the life of those men, while they occupied the fort as a home, "in the days that tried men's souls." It is to be regretted, that so many historical things of interest, have been lost beyond recall, just as the embers on the hearth, flicker and go out,—if no one keep the spark a-glow.

In this fort, Cornstalk and his two warriors were killed, in 1777. The graves of the soldiers, killed in the battle with the Indians, are to be seen, on the Point, but no marble shaft, or tablet yet, marks the spot, though more than a century has passed away, since that memorable battle. The

"Magazine," or "Reservation," where the "Officers and Gentlemen" were buried has always been a reservation, made so by Thomas Lewis, son of General Lewis, who inherited the land from his father, on which the town of Point Pleasant is located, and which surrounds the old burying ground. This was part of the military grant made to General Lewis for his services, in the French and Indian war. The square has been purchased by the State, for the purpose of erecting a monument, to the men who fell in the battle, also to honor the men who fought the battle, and our sister states will be called upon, to assist in placing a monument here, and thus honoring the first battle of the revolution. A monumental Association has just been organized at Point Pleasant, making it a National organization, the purpose being to interest the people, all over the country in this patriotic movement.

The last survivor of this great engagement with the Indians, was Samuel Bonnifield, who died in Tucker county, W. Va., in 1848. He served with LaFayette at Brandywine, and saw him wounded, and was near enough to hear the conversation, of General Washington, and General Cornwallis, at Yorktown, as the sword passed in the formalities of surrender, from General O'Hara, to General Lincoln. Ellis Hughes of Utica, N. York, who died in 1845, has been always said to have been the last survivor.

The square was thrown open for a park, on Oct. 10th, 1901, with a large celebration, at which time, the Col. Charles Lewis Chapter, D. A. R., was given the honor of naming it, and it was christened, Tuednawie,—the meeting of the waters. The orators chosen for the day, and who kindly responded to the invitation, were General Charles Grosvenor of Ohio, and Col. Bennett Young, of Louisville, Ky. Several of these celebrations have been held, from time to time, to keep alive the memory of the heroes, who gave up their lives, for the service, demanded by their country, and for their homes, and civilization.

The Col. Charles Lewis Chapter D. A. R. of Point Pleasant, have placed four granite posts, to enclose the reservation, so that the graves will not be lost, in the ground that surrounds them—as the years go by. Ann Bailey, the noted scout is buried in the Park, near the soldiers of General Lewis' army, she loved so well, and risked her own life, so often to save; she was first interred, in the old Trotter burying ground, near Clipper Mills, back of Gallipolis, Ohio, but as part of the interesting program, carried out at the celebration, of Oct. 10th, 1901, the Col. Charles Lewis Chapter, took up her remains, and with the consent of her nearest relatives brought them to Point Pleasant, and buried them in the Park, just as the sun was sinking down behind the western hills, being the closing ceremonies of the day.

When the monument is erected, Ann Bailey the "Heroine of the Kanawah Valley," will not be forgotten. This monument, should enlist the interest of every patriotic citizen, every patriotic society in our country, for no other battle, secured such vast, and far reaching results; since the men who fought this battle and went out from it became heroes, on every battle field, of the revolution.

A book has been gotten out from this manuscript, by the Historian, Reuben Gold Thwaites, at the expense of the Sons of the Revolution, of that State; it gives the reader a good idea, of the times, and events, that led up to this war.

The country swarmed with explorers, surveyors, adventurers, and restless pioneers, whose watchword seemed to be "onward to the setting sun" in search of the "pot of gold." In revenge, the Indians made many incursions into the settlements, attended with horrible cruelties, to intimidate the whites, and drive them back. It gave the settler a feeling of insecurity in his cabin, no matter how far removed he might be, or hid down among the mountains, in some obscure valley.

The massacre of the Clendenin family, in 1763, and the extermination of the settlements at Muddy, and Kerr's Creek, was still vivid in the minds of those, who had suf-

ferred such cruelty at the hands of the Indians, under their young, and blood-thirsty warrior Cornstalk, then in his prime. In 1764 there had been a more sweeping massacre, bringing greater distress upon all that country. The able bodied men were off in militia service, and at the first alarm about one hundred old men, women, and children, gathered at the Big Spring, cut off from farther retreat, and on a beautiful October Sabbath morning, they were all carried off captives, or met a worse fate, at the hands of these merciless savages.

Mrs. Dale sat concealed on the hill-side, and witnessed the terrible massacre, and long survived to tell this heart-rending story. These raids, so far into the interior of the country, fired the settlers, and resulted in this expedition, being sent against them. But the Indians were not the only aggressors, for much cruelty was shown by the whites, and they hunted the Indian, very much as they did the wild beasts, that roamed through the forests, and numbered the scalps they possessed, the same as the Indian did, as a trophy of their success as a warrior. Malcolm McCowen, who stood first on the list, of those indicted, for the murder of Cornstalk, because of having fired the first shot, had the reputation, in which he took great pride, of having killed more Indians than any other man, in his section of country. (Rockbridge County.) The massacre at Yellow Creek, where Logan claimed that the whites had wiped out all of his family, and also at Captina, and the killing of the old friendly Chief, Bald Eagle, of the Delawares, whom the whites sat up in a canoe, with a pipe in his mouth, and sent floating down the Monongahela, all helped to arouse the Indian, to a high pitch of frenzy, which finally culminated in the battle of Point Pleasant. The settlers formed themselves into companies of Rangers, for protection, and petitions were sent to Williamsburg, the seat of government, for assistance, to chastise these children of the forest.

THE KING FAMILY

BY W. W. SPOONER

III

HON. JOHN ALSOP KING, eldest son of Rufus and Mary (Alsop) King, was born in the city of New York, January 3, 1788. He was educated chiefly abroad, attending Harrow School in England, where he was a classmate of Lord Byron, and later pursuing studies in Paris. Upon his return to New York he read law and was admitted to the bar. He served as lieutenant of cavalry in the United States army during the War of 1812, and "is described as being, in his military capacity, a remarkable disciplinarian, and commanded a troop composed almost exclusively of young men from the leading families, as fine a body of men as ever paraded the streets of New York."

Having, like his father, a decided preference for a country residence, he removed to Jamaica after the close of the war. With his family he lived on a place near Beaver Pond, just south of the village of Jamaica, until his father's death, when he changed his residence to the paternal home.

"Here," says a biographical writer, "he entertained many of the political and literary celebrities of the day. He is said to have devoted much time and money to beautifying the grounds, and many of the fine old trees between the house and the street were planted by him."

Taking an active interest in politics, he was elected to the assembly from Long Island in 1810. After serving in that body several terms he was chosen to represent the district in the state senate. During this period he opposed most of the measures advocated by De Witt Clinton, but

was a warm supporter of the Erie Canal. He resigned his seat in the senate to accompany his father to the court of St. James (1825) as secretary of the United States legation, and remained in England as *charge d' affaires* after his father's resignation of the post of minister.

In 1838 he was again elected to the New York legislature, and in 1849 was chosen a member of congress, in which he served during the eventful sessions of 1850-1. Inheriting his father's anti-slavery principles, he opposed all the compromise measures, especially the Fugitive Slave law, and voted for the admission of California as a free state. He was one of the most prominent leaders of the old Whig party on Long Island, but upon the readjustment of party lines after the presidential election of 1852 he joined with alacrity in the movement which resulted in the creation of the Republican organization, presiding at the Syracuse convention of 1855 which gave birth to the Republican party in New York State. He was a delegate to the national republican convention of 1856 at Philadelphia, where he was active in supporting the nomination of General Fremont for the presidency. In the same year he received the republican nomination for governor of the state of New York, and was elected. His administration of the office was highly creditable to him, being particularly devoted to the advancement of educational interests and to internal improvements. He declined a renomination. In 1861, at the request of Governor Morgan, he served as one of the delegates to the peace convention. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement in his home at Jamaica. He was stricken with paralysis while making an address in that village on the Fourth of July, 1867, and died three days later.

Governor King, like his father, was strongly devoted to the interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in whose councils he was prominent.

Married, January 3, 1810, Mary Ray, daughter of Cor-

nelius and Elizabeth (Elmendorf) Ray, she having been born September 17, 1790, and died August 7, 1873.

[Mary Ray was in her paternal line a member of an old New York family whose emigrant ancestor came from Exeter in Devonshire, England, about the end of the seventeenth century. In her maternal (Elmendorf) line she was of the following descent: I. Jacobus Van Elmendorf, one of the early settlers of Kingston, N. Y. (1667), m. Grietje Aertsen. II. Conraedt Van Elmendorf, m. Blandina Kiersted, a great-granddaughter of the celebrated Anneke Jans. III. Petrus Edmundus Elmendorf, m. Maria Crook. IV. Elizabeth Elmendorf, m. Cornelius Ray. V. Mary Ray, m. Hon. John Alsop King.]

Issue:

1. Mary King, b. October 29, 1810, d. March 18, 1894. M. November 16, 1836, Phineas Miller Nightingale of Cumberland Island, Ga., grandson of General Nathaniel Greene of the Revolution. Issue: i. Louisa Shaw Nightingale. ii. Mary King Nightingale, m., June 7, 1866, Robert Troup of Georgia (issue). iii. Martha Nightingale. iv. John Alsop King Nightingale, m., December, 1871, Mary Heyward Troup (issue). v. Ellen Nightingale, m., January 14, 1880, Henry M. Fuller (no issue). vi. Elizabeth Nightingale, m. George A. Harrison. vii. William Nightingale, m., November 17, 1870, Ellen D. Hazlehurst (issue).

2. Charles Ray King, M. D., b. March 16, 1813, d. April 5, 1901. He was the author of "The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King." M., 1st, December 12, 1839, Hannah Fisher; 2d, October 1, 1872, Nancy Fisher, a sister of his first wife. Issue (by first marriage): i. Mary Fisher King, m., October 15, 1868, Charles F. Lennig (issue). ii. John Alsop King, m., March 22, 1877, Elizabeth Hamilton (issue).

3. Elizabeth Ray King, b. August 17, 1815, d. March 14, 1900. M., August 22, 1833, General Henry Van Rensselaer (issue). (See VAN RENSSELAER.)

4. *Hon. John Alsop King*, b. July 14, 1817, d. November 21, 1900; of whom below.

5. Caroline King, b. June 1, 1820, d. October 29, 1900. M., September 7, 1843, her cousin, James Gore King, Jr. (see below).

6. Richard King, b. July 18, 1822, d. November 21, 1891. M., December 12, 1839, Elizabeth Lewis, daughter of Mordecai Lewis. Issue: i. John Alsop King, d. young. ii. Lewis King, d. young. iii. Elizabeth King, d. young. iv. Richard King, m., 1st, Isabel Chater (issue), 2d, Margaret Chater (no issue).

7. Cornelia King, b. March 31, 1824, d. November 27, 1897.

8. Ellen King, d. young.

PRESIDENT CHARLES KING, second son of Rufus and Mary (Alsop) King, was born in New York, March 16, 1789. He was sent with his elder brother to the celebrated Harrow School in England, and afterward to a branch of the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris, where the two excited some envy among their comrades by carrying off most of the prizes. In 1804, by an arrangement with Sir Francis Baring of London, he became a clerk in the great banking house of Hope and Company in Amsterdam, Holland. Returning to New York in 1806, he entered the banking establishment of Archibald Gracie, in which he later became a partner. During the War of 1812 he was twice in the military service of the United States, and in 1813 was a member of the legislature of the state of New York. He declined a reelection to that body.

With James A. Hamilton and Johnston Verplanck he established in New York (1819) the *American*. Of this journal he became sole proprietor and editor in 1823, continuing as such more than twenty years, when it was united with the *Courier and Enquirer*. His editorial labors were distinguished throughout by literary ability and high standards of dignity and taste. He retained his connection with the *Courier and Enquirer* until 1848, when he terminated his newspaper relations and retired to his country home "Cherry Lawn," at Elizabethtown, N. J.

In November, 1849, Mr. King was elected president of Columbia College, New York. This position he held until June, 1864, discharging its duties with conspicuous credit and success. It was during his administration that the college was removed from Park Place to the new site at Madison avenue and Forty-ninth street; the College of Law was inaugurated; the College of Physicians and Surgeons was incorporated with the institution; the foundations were laid for the great schools of applied science, and broad measures of policy were initiated and prosecuted, from which the university of to-day is the development.

President King was an ardent supporter of the Union in the Civil War, exercising an influence probably not surpassed by that of any other private citizen of New York. He was one of the most successful public speakers of his day and his contemporaries pay the fullest tribute to the elevation of his character as well as to the singular charm of his manner. It was a grief to him that he was too old to serve his country in the field during the war, but he was represented by three sons and a grandson.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by Harvard and Princeton.

Resigning the presidency of Columbia in June, 1864, he spent a year at Oyster Bay, Long Island, and then went abroad with his family. He died at Frascati, Italy, September 27, 1867. A memorial of his life from which the above facts have been taken, has been recently published by J. Howard Van Amringe (*Columbia University Quarterly*, March, 1904).

Married, 1st, March 16, 1810, Eliza Gracie, daughter of Archibald and Esther (Rogers) Gracie.

Issue:

1. Eliza Gracie King, b. December 18, 1810, d. 1883. M. Rev. Charles Henry Halsey. Issue: i. Eliza Gracie, m. Charles C. Suydam. ii. Charles Henry Halsey, resides in Elizabeth, N. J. iii. Emily Halsey, m. Frederick Vincent. iv. Esther Halsey, m. Otis Pinneo. v. William Frederick Halsey of the United States navy, m. Anne Brewster.

2. Esther Rogers King, b. July 26, 1812, d. May 15, 1898. M. Major James G. Martin; no issue.

3. *Rufus King*, b. January 26, 1814, d. October 13, 1876; of whom below.

4. William Gracie King, b. October 4, 1816, d. 1882. M. Adeline McKee. Issue: i. Rufus King, served in the Civil War, attained the rank of major. ii. Mary McKee, m. Charles Clark. iii. Eliza Gracie King, m. Beverly Robinson.

5. Charles King, b. October 6, 1817, supposed to have been lost at sea.

6. Alice Consett King, b. April 16, 1819, d. May 27, 1861. M. Rev. Andrew Bell Paterson. Issue: i. Alice Consett Pater-

son, m. Charles Mann. ii. Henrietta Paterson, m. Harvey Officer.
 iii. Cornelia Paterson. iv. Eliza Paterson.

7. Archibald Gracie King, b. February 20, 1821, d. August 1, 1823.

8. Emily Sophia King, b. January 12, 1823, d. April 4, 1853.
 M. Stephen Van Rensselaer Paterson; no issue.

President Charles King married, 2d, October 20, 1826, Henrietta Liston Low, daughter of Nicholas and Alice (Haliburton) Low.

Issue:

9. Anne Johnstone King, b. August 9, 1827, d. October 4, 1891.

10. Cornelius Low King, b. April 5, 1829, d. April 21, 1893; fought in the Civil War and continued in the army several years after, retiring with the rank of captain and brevet colonel. M., 1st, Julia Lawrence; 2d, Janet de Kay. Issue (by first marriage): i. Charles King, m. Maria Kane Howe. ii. Alice Haliburton King, m. James Gore King Richards (by second marriage): iii. Janet Eckford King, m. Stephen Van Rensselaer Townsend. iv. Augustus Fleming King, m. Emily Lyon. v. Gerald Coleman King.

11. Henrietta Low King, b. January 17, 1833.

12. Gertrude Wallace King, b. September 24, 1836. M. Eugene Schuyler; no issue.

13. Mary Alsop King, b. April 28, 1839. M., in Paris, William Henry Waddington, a distinguished French archaeologist, who entered public life after reaching middle age, and was senator, minister of public instruction, minister of foreign affairs, prime minister, special ambassador of France at the coronation of Emperor Nicholas II. of Russia, ambassador to the court of St. James, etc.; d. 1894. Mme. Waddington is the author of two well-known books, "Letters of a Diplomat's Wife" (1802) and "Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife" (1904). Issue: i. Francis Waddington, m. Charlotte, daughter of Admiral Salandionze.

14. Augustus Fleming King, b. July 26, 1841, d. August 11, 1862; served in the Civil War and d. of fever contracted in camp.

JAMES GORE KING, fourth child of Rufus and Mary (Alsop) King, was born at the residence of his maternal grandfather, Hon. John Alsop, 38 Smith street (now 62 William street), New York City, May 8, 1791. At the age of five, his father having been appointed by President Washington minister to England, the family removed to

that country. His early education was received in a select school near London, and a similar institution in France, where he had been sent to learn the French language. It was the desire of his father, however, that he should complete his studies in his native country, and in 1803, at the age of twelve, he was sent back to the United States for this purpose. He was prepared for college under the tutorship of Rev. Dr. Gardner, entered Harvard University, and was graduated there in 1810.

During the next two years he pursued legal studies, at first under the direction of the distinguished Peter Van Schaick of Kinderhook, and subsequently at the celebrated Law School at Litchfield, Conn., then in its prime. But deciding upon a different course of life, to which he seems to have been especially influenced by the wishes of his father-in-law, Archibald Gracie, a noted merchant of his times, he did not qualify for admission to the bar. The war with England was then in progress, and he deemed it inopportune to embark upon an active career until the restoration of peace. In the summer of 1814, a large militia force having been called out for the defense of New York City, he was appointed assistant-adjutant-general under Major-General Ebenezer Stevens, and in this position he continued until the end of the war.

In 1815 Mr. King established a commission house in New York City, in association with his father-in-law and another partner, under the name of James G. King and Company. After three years he discontinued this enterprise, and, removing to Liverpool, England, organized with his brother-in-law, Archibald Gracie, the banking firm of King and Gracie. He continued there for several years, establishing a high reputation for business ability, and, despite the severe financial crisis of 1822, 1823, and 1824, was able to meet all his obligations and to finally close up the affairs of his house on a satisfactory basis.

Whilst in Liverpool Mr. King made the acquaintance of

John Jacob Astor, then on a trip abroad, and the association thus formed led to a lifelong friendship. Mr. Astor, who had conceived the highest opinion of his capacities, offered him the presidency of the American Fur Company, but, disliking to assume a position in any way dependent, however advantageous, he declined the offer.

In 1824 he returned to New York, entering as a partner the house of Prime, Ward, Sands, King, and Company, which, after various changes of style, ultimately became James G. King and Sons.

Mr. King's career was distinguished by an eminent degree of personal success, and also by large influence in the mercantile and financial community of which he was an honored member. In 1835, having become warmly interested in the project of the New York and Erie Railway, he consented to accept the presidency of that company, but declined to receive any salary for his services. The undertaking was generally regarded at the time as a chimerical one, but Mr. King, by his enthusiasm and energy, was not long in placing it upon a more practical footing. He caused new surveys to be made, a considerable portion of the road along the Delaware was put under contract, and in 1836 the legislature granted to the company the credit of the state to the extent of three millions of dollars, "moved thereto in no slight degree," we are told, "by the high character of Mr. King, under whose management it was felt that whatever aid might be appropriated by the state would be faithfully applied." Though obliged by the stress of other affairs to resign the presidency of the company, and therefore not identified with its subsequent progress, it was Mr. King's wise and practical management which gave the first impulse toward the final success of this great enterprise.

In 1837, when the terrible financial panic broke upon the country, Mr. King took a conspicuous part all the measures instituted toward the relief of the

situation. In common with all the other leading merchants of New York, he resisted, as long as it was possible, the expedient of suspending specie payments; but it having been decided that this was unavoidable, he was prompt to urge that every co-operation be extended to the banks in their policy, and at a great meeting of merchants and traders moved a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, that all bills and notes of the banks be received as usual. It was his earnest desire, however, to accomplish the resumption of specie payments as soon as possible; and in the fall of 1837 he went to London and entered into negotiations with the Bank of England, which resulted in convincing the management of that institution of the importance of strengthening American credit. Solely upon the personal guaranty given by Mr. King, with the endorsement of Baring Brothers and Company, the bank confided to his house the sum of a million pounds sterling in gold (a very great amount for those times). The means thus provided, and the moral effect produced, led immediately to restoration of confidence, and, within a brief time, to specie resumption.

Mr. King removed in 1832 to the Heights of Weehawken, in New Jersey, opposite New York City, and there established, and gradually improved, a magnificent country estate, to which he gave the name of "Highwood."

"Although averse to political life," says a biographer, "he nevertheless deemed it a duty, obligatory on every man, to take such part and interest in public affairs as becomes every citizen for a free representative republic. Especially on all questions connected with the commerce and finances of the country did he keep himself well informed, and prepared always to unite with his fellow-citizens in any measures which he deemed conducive to the general welfare." In 1834 he was a candidate for Congress in New York City, but was defeated. He was elected to that body from the fifth district of New Jersey in 1848,

serving during the eventful sessions of 1849-51, and had for one of his fellow-members his elder brother, John Alsop King (afterward governor of the state of New York). He earnestly opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Fugitive Slave law. Against the opposition of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he carried through the house an important bill concerning the collection of the revenue, whose main provisions have continued in force to the present time.

Upon the succession of Millard Fillmore to the presidency there was a strong movement for the appointment of Mr. King to the office of secretary of the treasury, but, having decided to retire from public life at the end of his congressional term, he personally went to the president and requested him to leave his name out of consideration in that connection.

He was elected a member of the Chamber of Commerce in 1817, and served as its vice-president from 1841 to 1845, and as its president from 1845 to 1848. In the will of John Jacob Astor he was named as one of his executors and also as trustee of the public library provided for by that instrument.

He died at his country home on the 3d of October, 1853. In resolutions adopted by the New York Chamber of Commerce a remarkable tribute was paid to his high character and great worth. One of these resolutions was as follows: "That the Chamber have no higher example than the character and career of their late associate to point out to the admiration and imitation of rising members of the mercantile community."

Married, February 4, 1813, Sarah Rogers Gracie, daughter of Archibald and Esther (Rogers) Gracie, and great-granddaughter of Thomas Fitch, the last colonial governor of Connecticut. She was born December 14, 1791, died November 3, 1878.

[Archibald Gracie, son of William and Mary Gracie, was b. at Dumfries, Scotland, June 25, 1755, came to New York in 1784, removed to Peterboro, Va., but returned to New York in 1793, and d. April 11, 1829. His wife, Esther Rogers (whom he m. in 1784) was a descendant of James Rogers, an early settler in Connecticut, and of other prominent Connecticut families, including the Fitches.]

Issue:

1. Caroline King, b. November 10, 1813, d. 1863. M., May 8, 1837, Denning Duer, son of Judge William A. Duer and great-grandson of William Alexander, Lord Stirling. Issue: i. Sarah Gracie Duer. ii. Edward Alexander Duer, m. Anna Van Buren, daughter of John Van Buren and granddaughter of President Martin Van Buren (issue). iii. James Gore King Duer, m. Elizabeth Meads, daughter of Orlando Meads (issue). iv. Rufus King Duer, lieutenant-commander in the United States navy, d. at sea. v. Amy H. Duer. vi. William Alexander Duer, m. Ellin Travers, daughter of William Travers (issue). vii. Denning Duer, m. Louise Suydam, daughter of Henry Suydam (issue).
2. Sarah Gracie King, b. August 8, 1815, d. October 4, 1815.
3. Harriet King, b. June 2, 1817, d. June 19, 1838. M., May 19, 1836, George Wilkes, M. D. Issue: i. Grace Wilkes. ii. Harriet King Wilkes.
4. James Gore King, b. at Liverpool, England, May 3, 1819, d. June 11, 1867; graduate of Harvard; appointed by Governor Hunt justice of the supreme court of New York State. M., September 7, 1843, his cousin, Caroline King, daughter of Hon. John Alsop and Mary (Ray) King. Issue: i. James Gore King. ii. John Alsop King, m., October 15, 1874, Eliza W. Tompkins (issue). iii. Mary Ray King, m., November 21, 1871, B. Franklin Lee (issue). iv. Harriet King. v. Caroline King.
5. Archibald Gracie King, b. at Everton, England, July 11, 1821, d. March 21, 1897; a graduate of Harvard; member of the Chamber of Commerce of New York. M., May 8, 1845, Elizabeth Denning Duer, daughter of William Alexander Duer. Issue: i. Maria Denning King, m., October 4, 1871, John King Van Rensselaer (issue). ii. Sara Gracie King, m., December 1, 1875, Frederick Bronson (issue). iii. Frederick Gore King, m., December 5, 1877, Jessie Arklay, daughter of Patrick Arklay (issue).
6. Henry Meyers King, b. September 15, 1824, at Versailles, France, d. August 9, 1825.
7. Mary King, b. June 30, 1826, d. July, 1890. M., November 12, 1856, Edgar H. Richards. Issue: i. Edgar Richards. ii. James Gore King Richards, m., January 21, 1891, Alice Haliburton King (issue). iii. Frederick Gore King Richards. iv. Gracie

The Hon. King Richards, m., October 26, 1897. Emily Blight Parks, daughter of General John G. Parke of the United States army.

8. Frederica Gore King, b. July 2, 1829. M., November 19, 1857, John Chandler Bancroft Davis; no issue.

9. *Edward King*, b. July 30, 1833; of whom below.

10. Alsop King, b. March 31, 1835, d. July 26, 1836.

11. Fanny King, b. July 8, 1835, d. December 20, 1905. M., November 15, 1859, James Latimer McLane, son of Louis and Katherine (Milligan) McLane. Issue: i. Katharine Milligan McLane, m., November 5, 1890, William H. Lee (issue). ii. James Gore King McLane. iii. Allan McLane, m., April 22, 1890, Augusta James, daughter of Henry James (issue). iv. Robert Milligan McLane. v. Fanny King McLane. vi. Ethel King McLane. vii. Frederica Gore McLane, m. John A. Tompkins, M. D. viii. James Latimer McLane.

IV

HON. JOHN ALSOP KING, 2d, the second son of Governor John Alsop King and Mary Ray, his wife, was born in the Beaver Pond residence of his father at Jamaica, Long Island, July 14, 1817. He was prepared for college at the Union Hall Academy in Jamaica, the classical school of Dr. Louis E. A. Eigenbrodt, and at the early age of fifteen entered Harvard in the sophomore class, where he was graduated with credit in 1835. After leaving college he was for a short time a clerk in a mercantile house in New York, but having little taste for trade gave up this connection, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He practiced his profession for several years in the metropolis.

In 1854 he bought a beautiful point of land at Great Neck on Long Island Sound, part of the Hewlett property and known as Hewlett's Point, where he built a house and made his home for the remainder of his life. His tastes led him to become a member of the agricultural societies of the county, and he took an active part in their proceedings, as well as a deep interest in all the affairs of the neighborhood, both political and religious. Here, as elsewhere, his genial disposition and courteous manners won for him the esteem of those with whom he was brought in contact.

The Republican party being guided by the principles which he had inherited, he became an attached member of that organization. His first public office was that of presidential elector in 1872; this was followed by election to the state senate, in which he served during 1874 and 1875. He was a zealous supporter and defender of the Erie Canal and of the constitutional amendments which brought about many reforms in the state government. With the aid of the member of assembly from the first district he succeeded in securing the repeal of the infamous act of 1868, by which, unknown to the owners, the salt meadow water front of Staten and Long Islands had been sold for a trifling sum to a land company. For his services in procuring the passage of the act establishing the court of arbitration he received a vote of thanks from the New York Chamber of Commerce. In 1876 he was nominated in his district for the office of representative in the national congress, but was defeated, as he was also in 1880, the district being strongly democratic.

In 1881 Mr. King was appointed by Governor Cornell the commissioner for the state of New York to receive and extend the courtesies and hospitalities of the state to the delegation from France and the other foreign guests invited by the United States to take part, at Yorktown, in the centennial celebration.

From that time, though still interested in the welfare of his party, he was no longer prominent in politics, but devoted himself to other pursuits for which he had long felt a deep concern. These were chiefly in connection with the church in which he was brought up, and which was that of his affections, the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was for many years a warden of Zion Church at Little Neck, subsequently being until his death warden of the Church of All Saints at Great Neck. He acted almost without interruption as a delegate to diocesan conventions, was chosen as a deputy to the federal council on every occasion from

its formation in 1871, and was a deputy to eight successive triennial general conventions of the church. He was a trustee of the fund for aged and infirm clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of New York, a member of the board of managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and a trustee of King Hall, at Washington, D. C., founded for the higher education in the ministry of the colored race, and in which he took the deepest interest. He was a lay member of the Cathedral Chapter of Long Island, and, following the example of his ancestry, was a liberal benefactor of Grace Church at Jamaica. He and his wife were greatly interested in the New York Blind Asylum, of which he was a manager, and in all his efforts to promote benevolent objects his wife and daughters were ever ready to join with him.

Mr. King became a member of the New York Historical Society in 1881. In 1887 he was elected its president, an office in which he was continued until his death. He was deeply interested in procuring a new building for the society, and it was under his inspiration that the splendid site for the purpose fronting Central Park was purchased.

In a memorial of Mr. King—of which the present sketch is largely a reproduction,—read before the New York Historical Society by his friend and successor as president of that organization, the Very Reverend E. A. Hoffman (now deceased), the following tribute was paid to him:

"He was a man of marked manliness of character, with a singularly sweet and loving disposition. Holding decided views, conscientiously maintained, on questions which came before him, they were not put forward without a due regard for those who differed from him. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of works in which he engaged, they were always accompanied with such modesty and reliance that few even of his intimate friends were aware of the energy and punctuality with which he devoted himself to duties which he voluntarily assumed for the good of others. Of all the boards and committees of which he was a member he was never absent from a meeting unless prevented by other imperative duties. . . . In addition to all these public duties, how many days and hours he devoted to personal acts of kindness will never be known until that day when their recipients will

rise up and call him blessed. His heart and his hand were always open to every appeal of suffering and want. Such was his honorable and noble life—devoted to the good of others, free in every stage of it from the reproach of weakness or personal ends, marked throughout by high aims conscientiously carried out by an enlightened love of goodness, and by the unhesitating devotion of the individual, his faculties and his possessions, to the service of God and his fellow-men."

His last active duty performed was to make the journey from New York City to Great Neck, Long Island, on election day in November, 1900, to cast his vote. He was at the time far from well and was strongly urged not to expose himself, but he felt that voting was a duty which it was necessary to perform.

He died in the city of New York on the 21st day of November, 1900, and was buried in the old churchyard of Grace Church at Jamaica, where lie the remains of his father and grandfather.

Married, in New York City, February 21, 1839, Mary Colden Rhinelander, only daughter of Philip and Mary Colden (Hoffman) Rhinelander of that city. She was born at Elm Lake, Hamilton County, N. Y., April 7, 1818, and died in Washington, D. C., January 12, 1894.

[We include the Rhinelander, Hoffman, and Colden pedigrees of Mary Colden (Rhinelander) King, tracing from the first American ancestor down in each instance:

Rhinelander.—I. Philip Jacob Rhinelander, b. near Oberwesel, a Rhenish province then subject to France; was a Huguenot, and came to America in 1686, settling in New Rochelle, N. Y., m. in this country. II. William Rhinelander, m. Magdalen Renaud, daughter of Stephen Renaud. III. William Rhinelander, Jr., m. Mary Robert, sister of Colonel Robert, a line officer under Washington, and descendant of Daniel Robert, a Huguenot emigrant to America (1686.) IV. Philip Rhinelander, m. Mary Colden Hoffman, daughter of Josiah Ogden Hoffman. V. Mary Colden Rhinelander, m. John Alsop King.

Hoffman.—I. Martin Hermanzen Hoffman, b. about 1625 at Revel on the Gulf of Finland; came to America about 1657, settling at first at Esopus, N. Y., and afterward in New Amsterdam; m. (2d) Emmerentje Classen de Witte. II. Nicolaes Hoffman, lived at Esopus; m. Jannetje Crispelt. III. Colonel Martinus Hoffman, m. (1st) Tryntje (Catherine), daughter of Robert Benson. IV. Nicholas Hoffman, m. Sarah, daughter of David and Ger-

trude (Gouverneur) Ogden. V. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, celebrated as a lawyer, political leader, and judge. m. Mary Colden, daughter of David Colden. VI. Mary Colden Hoffman. m. Philip Rhineland. VII. Mary Colden Rhineland. m. John Alsop King.

Colden.—I. Hon. Cadwallader Colden, b. in Scotland, February 7, 1688 (o. s.); pre-eminent as a scientist and writer; many years lieutenant-governor of the colony of New York; d. at Spring Hill near Flushing, Long Island, September 20, 1776; m. Alice Christy. II. David Colden. m. Ann, daughter of John Willet, Esq. III. Mary Colden. m. Josiah Ogden Hoffman. IV. Mary Colden Hoffman. m. Philip Rhineland. V. Mary Colden Rhineland. m. John Alsop King.]

Issue:

1. Mary Rhineland King, resides at Great Neck, Queens County, Long Island.

2. Cornelia Ray King, d. at Rome, Italy, October, 1860.

3. Alice King. M., April 7, 1894, Gherardi Davis, son of George H. Davis.

4. Frederica King, b. June 12, 1851, d. at Great Neck, Long Island, October 16, 1854.

5. Ellen King, resides in New York City.

GENERAL RUFUS KING, eldest son of President Charles King (by his first wife, Eliza Gracie), was born at No. 3 Pearl street, New York, January 16, 1814. After receiving a preparatory training in the Peugnet private school in New York, he entered the West Point Military Academy, where he was graduated fourth in a brilliant class in June, 1833. He was commissioned in the corps of engineers and performed service in the construction of Fortress Monroe and later in the improvement of the Hudson River below Albany. Promotion being slow, he resigned from the army in 1836 to accept a position as engineer for the Erie Railway, with which he was engaged in survey work for two years, when the company became bankrupt. He was for a number of years a resident of Albany, and in 1839 was appointed by Governor Seward adjutant-general of the state of New York, continuing in that office until 1843.

In September, 1845, he removed to Milwaukee, Wis., where he was prominent in journalism and public affairs,

being editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, superintendent of public schools, regent of the State University to 1861, and member of the constitutional convention. He was one of the foremost men in the organization and leadership of the Republican party in the northwest.

Receiving the appointment of brigadier-general of United States volunteers in May, 1861, he was assigned first to the command of a brigade and then to that of a division in the army of the Potomac. He was obliged by ill health to resign in October, 1863, and the following month was appointed by President Lincoln minister resident to Rome, Italy, where he remained until the summer of 1867. After his return to the United States he resided in New York City, where he died October 13, 1876.

Married, 1st, 1836, Ellen Eliot, daughter of Robert Eliot of Albany, and a descendant of the famous apostle to the Indians; she died 1838 without issue.

Married, 2d, 1843, Susan Eliot, a younger sister of his first wife; she died in 1892.

Issue:

1. Charles King, b. in Albany, N. Y., October 12, 1844. He was graduated from the military Academy at West Point in 1866, and served successively with an artillery battery in Louisiana, as instructor at West Point, on staff duty in the south, and in the cavalry in the Apache War, Sioux War, and Nez Perces campaign. In June, 1879, as captain of the Fifth Cavalry, he was retired on account of wounds received in action. He was instructor and inspector general of the Wisconsin national guard, 1882-9; colonel, commanding a regiment, 1890, and adjutant-general of Wisconsin to 1897. In the Spanish-American War he was appointed (1898) brigadier-general of United States volunteers, and commanding a brigade in the Philippine campaign, being honorably discharged in August, 1897. Since 1904 he has held the position of inspector, Wisconsin Troop. General King is a member of various military and other societies. He is one of the very well-known American authors of our time, his published works exceeding forty in number. These include "Famous and Decisive Battles," "Between the Lines," "The Colonel's Daughter," "Marion's Faith," "Captain Blake," "The General's Double," "The

the "Massachusetts Iron Brigade," and "A Conquering Corps Badge." He resides in Milwaukee, Wis., M., 1872, Adelaide L. Yorke, daughter of Lewis L. Yorke of Avoca, La. Issue: i. Adelaide Patton King, b. December 25, 1873, d. 1879. ii. Carolyn Merrill King, b. August 30, 1877. iii. Elinor Yorke King, b. September 24, 1881. iv. Rufus King, b. January 16, 1885.
2. Fanny King, b. October 11, 1846, at Milwaukee.

EDWARD KING, tenth child of James Gore and Sarah Rogers (Gracie) King, was born at his father's country-seat, "Highwood," Weehawken, N. J., July 30, 1833. He received his first educational training at the Grammar School of Columbia College, then situated in Murray street not far from the City Hall Park, and presided over by Professor Anthon, one of the instructors being Abram S. Hewitt. Afterward he attended a French school in New York conducted by two brothers named Peugnet, who had been officers under Napoleon. In 1847 he accompanied his parents to Europe and was placed in a school at Meiningen, Saxony, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of German. Returning to America in 1849 he entered Harvard College. While pursuing his studies at that institution he was for two years a member of the family of Professor Agassiz. After his graduation from Harvard (1853) he went to West Point, and for several months took private lessons in engineering from Professor Mahan.

In 1854 he began his business career in the banking house of James G. King's Sons, first as a clerk and afterward as partner until 1861, when he withdrew. Having meantime become a member of the New York Stock Exchange, he then engaged in the brokerage business on his own account. He served as president of the New York Stock Exchange in 1872. The following year he was called to the presidency of the Union Trust Company of New York, in which capacity he has since continued.

Mr. King resides at No. 1 University Place, New York City. He is a governor of the New York Hospital; trustee of the New York Society Library; trustee and treasurer

of the New York Public Library; member and has served as president of the St. Nicholas Society (1896-7); member and former president of the Harvard Club (1890-5), and member of the University, Century, Riding, and Ardsley clubs.

Married, 1st, October 20, 1858, Isabella Ramsay Cochrane, daughter of Rupert James and Isabella Macomb (Clarke) Cochrane. She was born September 8, 1838, died March 1, 1873.

Issue:

1. Isabella Clarke King.
2. Edward Ramsay King, b. August 14, 1861, d. September 20, 1863.
3. Alice King. M., October 15, 1891, Herman Le Roy Edgar, son of William and Eliza L. (Rhineland) Edgar. Issue: i. William Edgar, b. March 8, 1894.
4. James Gore King, b. June 6, 1868. M., April 22, 1896, Sarah Erving, daughter of John and Cornelia (Van Rensselaer) Erving. Issue: i. James Gore King, b. May 25, 1898. ii. Eleanor Erving King. iii. Edward Ramsay King.
5. Elizabeth Gracie King.
6. Rupert Cochrane King, b. Feb. 24, 1873. M., June 6, 1901, Grace Marvin, daughter of Selden E. and Catharine (Parker) Marvin. Issue: i. Katherine Langdon King.

Edward King married, 2d, May 26, 1885, Elizabeth Fisher, daughter of William and Julia (Palmer) Fisher. She was born October 1, 1847.

Issue:

7. Edward King, b. September 27, 1886.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

VISIT OF DE CHASTELLUX TO GENERAL SCHUYLER

Extract from his journal of travel

1780-1781

Translated for the American Historical Magazine

IT was a serious question to know where I should pass the morrow. The North river I had been told was not sufficiently frozen over to admit of a crossing on foot, or so free from ice as to allow a boat to reach the opposite shore. Informed of these obstacles I set out early on the twenty-fourth in order to have ample time to search for a spot where the passage would be least difficult. I had only twenty miles to journey before reaching Albany when having travelled long through a pine wood, I found myself towards one o'clock in the afternoon on the banks of the Hudson.

The valley through which flows this river and the city of Albany built in amphi-theatre on the west bank would have offered a charming aspect had its beauty not been somewhat defaced by the snow. A fine house situated half way up the hill opposite the ferry, challenged the eye and seemed to extend an invitation to the stranger to halt at General Schuyler's the proprietor of the country seat, and its architect.

I was the bearer of a letter of introduction to him and had been commended to him from every quarter, but especially by General Washington and Mrs. Carter. In fact I had a rendez-vous there with Colonel Hamilton who had recently

married one of his daughters and had already been preceded by the Viscount de Noailles and the Count de Damas whom I knew had reached there the previous day.

The only obstacle lay in crossing the river. Whilst our skiff advanced with difficulty through the ice she was obliged to cut, Mr. Lynch to whom a good dinner was by no means indifferent remarked as he contemplated General Schuyler's mansion, I am sure that whilst we are fretting ourselves and entertaining vain hopes of reaching some miserable inn for the night the Vicount and Damas are now seated at table enjoying good cheer and pleasant company. I shared his anxiety but amused myself by assuring him that we had been seen from the windows that I had distinguished the Viscount de Noailles eyeing us with a field-glass and that he would send a messenger to escort us to the house where a repast awaited us. I even pretended that a sleigh that I had seen descending towards the river was intended for us. Never was there more just conjecture—

The first person whom we recognized on the shore, was le Chev. de Mauduit awaiting us with the General's sleigh. We promptly got in and in a few moments found ourselves in a beautiful drawing room by a good fire, with Mr Schuyler and his wife and daughters. As we were warming ourselves dinner was served, to which each guest did ample honour, as well as to the madeira which proved excellent and speedily caused us to forget the hardships of the season and the fatigue of our journey. General Schuyler's family consisted of Mrs. Schuyler, Mrs. Hamilton his second daughter, to whom nothing which constitutes a pretty woman is missing, Miss Peggy Schuyler his third daughter who but for her teeth would be as pretty as her sister, another charming girl of eight years, and of three boys the eldest fifteen; all the most beautiful children one can imagine. The General himself is a man of fifty of commanding presence and fine and noble countenance. His fortune a considerable one will become larger as he is the possessor

of vast estates. His talents and accomplishments have added more to his importance than his wealth. He served under General Amherst in the war with Canada, as deputy Quarter-master general that is as *Aide Marechal general des logis*. From thence on, he received recognition and distinguished himself. He was extremely useful to the English, and after the proclamation of peace was summoned to London to regulate the expenditure of all the supplies made by the Americans. His marriage with Miss Van Rensselaer the wealthy heiress of a family which has given its name to a whole district or rather to an entire province, added to his importance and influence, so that it is by no means astonishing that at the very beginning of the war he was raised to the rank of Major-General and placed in command of the troops on the Canadian frontier. It was in this capacity that in 1777 he was commissioned to oppose the advances of General Bourgoyne. Having received orders from Congress in direct opposition to his opinion, without being provided with means necessary to carry them into execution, he found himself compelled to evacuate Ticonderoga and to fall back on the banks of the Hudson. These measures wise in themselves being misinterpreted in a moment of illfeeling and anxiety he was courtmartialled as well as General Sinclair who commanded under him. Some time later they were both honorably acquitted. Sinclair returned to his command in the army but General Schuyler justly agrieved demanded reparation of a more explicit character and restoration to his rank which since this incident two or three Generals of his own rank disputed him. As it was not possible to arrange this matter he refrained from joining the army but has not ceased to serve his country. Elected to Congress the following year he divided for a time with Mr. Laurens the candidature for the presidency. From this time on he enjoyed the confidence of the government and of General Washington who have now sought him out to accept the position of Secretary of War.

Whilst we remained in this delightful retreat the weather continued uncertain as to frost or thaw. There was but little snow on the ground but it was not improbably that more would follow at an early date. The travellers having met in council it was not deemed advisable to defer their departure for Saratoga. General Schuyler who owned a house here placed it at our disposition but could not serve us as guide as his health was feeble and he was threatened with an attack of gout. He proposed to give us into the hands of an intelligent officer to conduct us over the different battle fields whilst his son would precede us to prepare our lodging. It was still possible to travel on horseback and we were furnished with horses of the country to take the place of our own weary mounts some of which had remained across the river. All these arrangements having been accepted a slave was given us to conduct us to the city. On our arrival there we called on Brigadier-General Clinton to whom I delivered my letter of introduction.

* * * * *

The twenty-sixth the rivers not being frozen over nor the roads hard enough for a long journey in a sleigh I determined to return to Albany. I and my companions had planned to beg General Schuyler to invite us to dinner but I had noticed that Mrs Schuyler a portly Dutch woman of a serious turn of mind was the mistress of that establishment and one with whom it would be ill advised to take any liberties. Knowing that they had been informed of our return I concluded to temporise. I was wise. In the morning Colonel Hamilton, who called on me, struck me as somewhat embarrassed. He made no propositions. I promised to call on the General during the evening and gathered the strangers together to dine with me; a repast which was not as successful an entertainment as the dinner of the previous evening. At six o'clock sleighs were sent for us and we started for General Schuyler's. We found him in his drawing room with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton only, and

were told that Mrs. Schuyler was indisposed. We took it for what it was worth. A conversation was soon established between the General, The Vicomte de Noailles and myself— We had spoken two days previously of certain important facts relating to the Northern Campaign which to us seemed to require an explanation, Mr. Schuyler was no less desirous to enlighten us. He is quite communicative and justly so. He converses amiably and fluently. He knows what he is talking about and says it well. The better to answer our questions he proposed to us to read his political and military correspondence with General Washington. We acquiesced with pleasure and leaving the rest of the company with Mr and Mrs. Hamilton we passed into another apartment where we found Madame and Mademoiselle Schuyler sitting by the fire in the enjoyment of apparent good health.

The General opened his port-folio and the Vicount and I divided several manuscripts numbering over sixty pages of fine handwriting on paper a la Tellerie. The first despatch that I read was a letter he had written to General Washington in the month of December 1777 it contained a plan of attack on Canada. * * * *

It was ten o'clock at night before I had finished my reading. I continued to converse with General Schuyler whilst the others sat at supper. We parted much pleased with each other, and I returned to my quarters. * * *

NOTE.—In the September number, 1878, of the Magazine of American History, II, 633, there appeared an interesting account by the distinguished historian Mr. Samuel A. Green of the "Chastellux Memoirs," originally printed at the press of the French squadron which lay in Newport harbour in the autumn of 1780 and the following year. Mr. Green says it was printed in 1780 but this is not possible as the Chevalier did not return from his travels until January, 1781. Owing to some complaints of his American friends as to his criticism of things American the Chevalier prepared an amended account from which the above extract is trans-

lated. It is taken from a typewritten copy of the original; the story of which is interesting. It was found in Paris by Mr. Charles E. Hammett of Newport about 1885 and sold by him to Mr. Alexander Maitland in May, 1889, for the Lenox Library. Mr. Hammett said his copy corresponds line by line with the pages of the original. The title page displayed in pen and ink reads: "Voyage de Newport a Philadelphie (*sic*) Albany N. Y. etc" Below is a vignette probably that of the press of the French Squadron in the form of a circle ornamented with marine emblems enclosing three fleurs-de-lis. At foot we read in French "printed to the number of 25 copies only, by the printing press of the Royal Squadron at Newport." Curiously enough the name of Eliza Moore Marbois appears at the head of the pen and ink title page which was evidently prepared for this type written copy. And singularly enough some corrections on the type written copy also appear in a French handwriting. An examination of the Lenox Library original may solve this mystery.

The Marquis de Barbe—Marbois played a conspicuous part in the French diplomatic service in America. He was secretary of legation in 1779 and Charge d'Affaires after the return of the Minister; the Chevalier de Luzerne. After his own return to France in 1790 he was continuously employed by the several governments which succeeded each other from 1789 to 1830. He was made a Peer of France by Louis XVIII. The lady above named was perhaps his wife or daughter.—EDITOR.

HISTORICAL EXTRACTS

France and England in the Year of the Peace 1783

I

CEREMONIES OF THE PROCLAMATION OF PEACE AT PARIS
The King's ordinance for the publishment of Peace was issued on the third of November and the date fixed for the ceremony was Thursday the 20th. It is here described as seen from the balcony of the Hotel de York in the Rue Jacob, the home of the English negociators for the Peace. The recital is taken from the Memoirs of Mr Craddock, an English gentleman of high connections who resided there in one of the front rooms.

A distinguished company were gathered of French and English. Lord and Lady Sussex, a French Abbe; doctor of the Sorbonne and his pupil the honorable Mr. Petre, and the bishop of Nancy who had apartments in the hotel but not so favorable to the view. Mr. Craddock with true English hospitality had provided a lunch of cold capons, ham, cakes and good wine; none too much for the numbers who were gathered.

The Englishmen were surprised that there was no ringing of bells as in London on public occasions. This was not the habit in Paris. The show was brilliant and the music abundant and admirable. There was a printed ordinance which was distributed among the spectators. This was the formula.

The Chevalier de la Hays, king-at-arms, and six Heralds, dressed like himself, in the costume of the Knave of Diamonds rode on horseback through the streets of Paris preceded by the musicians of the king's stables and by the master of ceremonies. The escort proceeded first to take,

in the king's name, the *prevots des marchands*, the municipal authorities and the magistrates of the Chatelet, the chief of whom handed to the king-at-arms the ordinance of peace, in the form in which it was to be published. All these public bodies, united, proceeded to fourteen public places in succession where proclamation was made with the following formalities.

The Chevalier de la Haye after commanding three blasts by his Majesty's trumpeters, cried out three times "*By order of the king*" and said "first herald of the arms of France, by the title of Burgundy, perform the duties of your office." The herald, thus ordered, took the ordinance from the hands of his chief and made publication of it with a loud voice. The proclamation finished, the king-at-arms ordered three *fanfares* and cried out three times "*Vive le roi!*" About the middle of these solemn ceremonies the king-at-arms and his heralds, in accordance with an old and curious custom, went into the convent of the Feuillants on the grounds of the Tuileries where the monks had made ready a collation for these officers. The rest of the *cortege*, which in the etiquette was not admitted to the repast, waited at the door the return of the invited guests. The ceremonies of the day were closed by a great supper in the town where everybody found something to eat.

Among the festivities was a grand representation at the opera. During one of the intermissions of the play the proclamation of peace was read from the stage and received with great applause;

II

CEREMONIES OF THE PROCLAMATION AT LONDON

"Yesterday at noon a party of Horseguards was drawn up about the gate at St. James Palace when the Beadles and Constables and all the officers of the City of Westminster attended.

“The Officers of Arms, Seregants at Arms with their mace and collars. The Trumpets, Drum Major and Drums. And the Knight Marshal and his men and the Officers of Arms being habited in their respective Tabards, and mounted procession was made from thence to the Palace Gate in this order:

Knight's Marshals Men, two and two.
 Knight Marshal.
 Drums.
 Sergeant Trumpeter.
 Sergeants { Pursuivant } Sergeants
 at { Heralds } at
 Arms. { King at Arms } Arms.

“Being come before the Palace gate the senior Officer of Arms present attended, on his left hand by the next in rank, read the proclamation aloud: which done, the Officers of Westminster joined the procession which moved on to Charing Cross in the following order:

Horse Grenadiers to clear the way.
 Beadles of Westminster, two and two, bareheaded with staves.
 Constables of Westminster in like manner.
 High Constable with his Staff on Horseback.
 Officers of the High Bailiff of Westminster with white wand, on horseback.
 Clerk of the High Bailiff.
 High Bailiff and Deputy Steward.
 Horse Guards.
 Knight Marshals Men, two and two.
 Horse Guards { Knight Marshal. } Horse
 to { Drums. } Guards
 flank { Drum Major. } to
 the { Trumpets. } flank
 Procession. { Sergeant Trumpeter. } the
 Pursuivants. } Procession.
 Heralds. } Sergeants
 Sergeants { King of Arms. } at
 Horse Guards. } Arms.

“At Charing Cross the Officer of Arms next in rank, to him who read at St. James read the Proclamation, looking toward White-hall, that done the procession moved on to Temple Bar the gates of which were shut and the junior Officer of Arms coming out of the rank between two trump-

eters preceded by two horse grenadiers to clear the way rode up to the gates, and after the trumpets had sounded thrice knocked with a cane. Being asked by the City Marshal from within *Who comes there?* He replied. *The officer of Arms who demands entrance into the city to publish his Majesty's Proclamation of peace.* The gates being thrown open he was admitted alone and the gates shut again. The City Marshal preceded by his officers conducted him to the Lord Mayor to whom he showed his Majesty's warrant which his Lordship having read, returned and gave direction to the City marshal to open the gates, who attended him back thereto and on the Officers of Arms leaving him said, *Sir, the gates are opened.* The trumpets and grenadiers being in waiting conducted him to his place in the procession which then moved on into the city the officers of Westminster filing off and retiring as they came to Temple Bar.

“The procession from Temple Bar was as follows:

Four Trumpeters.
Grenadiers Guards.
Knights Marshals Men, two and two.
Knight Marshal.
Drums.
Drum Major.
Trumpets.
Sergeant Trumpeters.
Pursuivants.
Sergeant { Heralds. } Sergeant
at { King of Arms. } at
Arms. { City Marshal's Men. } Arms.
Constables.
City Music, with scarlet laced coats, on horseback.
Drums.
Band of musicians on foot.
City Marshals.
The Lord Mayor.
Aldermen Alsop, Wright; the Deputy Recorder Kitchen, Gill, Pickett and
Boydell.
Sheriff Officers with javelins.
Sheriff Turner and the Remembrancer.
Sheriff Officers with javelins.
Sheriff Skinner with one of the Deputy Sheriffs.
Town Clerk and one of the Horse Guards.
Horse Guards who closed the procession.

“The proclamation was then read a third time at Chancery Lane and a fourth time at the end of Wood street where the cross formerly stood. The procession then moved on to the royal exchange where it was read for the last time. The trumpets sounded thrice previous to and immediately after each reading.

“Owing to the concourse of people near half an hour elapsed between the Herald and the Lord Mayor’s passing the east end of St. Paul’s Church Yard.”

The ceremony of the admission of the Kings Heralds was a quaint relic of antiquity. Such was the throng on this occasion that Mr. Samuel Curwen, one of the American loyalist refugees then in London, says of it in his diary “that though he had a sight of the procession in Pall Mall the crowds disappointed him of hearing the proclamation or seeing the ceremony of admission through Temple Bar into the city.”

III

STATE OF ENGLAND

LONDON MARCH 12 1782 The procession of the House of Commons which went to St. James the first instant with their address to the King to put an end to the American war was the most awful and solemn of any we ever saw. Men who have not for many years been seen within the avenues of the Court repaired to the Palace upon this occasion and the body was composed of all that is venerable, great and good in the National Assembly. They (the people) assembled in immense crowds and attended the coaches of the representatives to the Palace with acclamations. * *

* * Pall Mall was lined with carriages filled with the greatest female characters in the empire who came to witness the scene. There never was a more truly grand and more brilliant spectacle: For not only that to the House of Commons but there were processions in the Cities of Lon-

don and Westminster, the counties of Middlesex and Surrey and the Borough of Southwark with their several addresses against the American war. It was attended with no disturbances or disaster—the people observed the utmost decorum and seemed to feel with earnestness the importance of the occasion. *The Newport Mercury* June 29 1782

LONDON DECEMBER 3 1782 Yesterday Vergennes' Secretary brought notice that the Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and the thirteen United States had signed a *provisional* treaty whereupon stocks *rose five per cent.* The following letter was published "Whitehall December 2 1872. The Right Honorable the Lord Mayor. In consequence of my letter to your Lordship of the 22 ultmo I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you that a messenger is this moment arrived from Paris with an account of provisional articles having been signed on the 30 ultmo by his Majesty's Commissioners and the Commissioners of the United States of America to be inserted in and constitute a *Treaty of Peace* which is to be concluded when terms for peace shall be agreed between Great Britain and France, I am, etc

I. TOWNSHEND.

LONDON FEBRUARY 7 1783 By the papers of this day it appears that the ratification of the *preliminaries* were signed by the French King on the 3d instant and are to arrive here as soon as completed. The part of France received by Mr. Fitzherbert and forwarded; the Dutch have not as yet acceded. An armistice or cessation of hostilities by sea agreed on between us. *Samuel Curwen's Journal and Letters.*

LONDON SEPTEMBER 12 1783. Tuesday night David Hartley Esq arrived in town from Paris with the Definitive Treaty of Peace with America. *Newport Mercury* November 3rd 1783.

LONDON OCTOBER 8th 1783. In the powers granted by his Majesty to Mr Hartley to sign the Definitive Treaty with

America the Americans have received the appellation of *our most good friends* the United States of America. *Query*, Might they not with greater propriety been styled *our dear friends*? For they have cost us very *dear* indeed. *Newport Mercury February 21 1784*

LONDON MAY 10 1783 Mr Burke made a very apt remark when he heard that Mr David Hartley was nominated to go over to Paris to fix the plan between us and the New States with the American Commissioners there. "Our wise rulers (says he) show their penetration to all the world—They sent a Merchant (Oswald) to negotiate the Peace: and a Politician [Hartley] to settle the Treaty of Commerce" *Newport Mercury July 5 1783.*

LONDON JANUARY 28 1783. When Dr Franklin was about to sign the provisional Treaty with Mr Fitzherbert at Paris he begged to leave them for a few moments, which he did, and returned soon after in an old suit of clothes instead of a rich suit in which he had just appeared. Being asked the reason of this extraordinary circumstance the veteran answered "It was in this suit that ——— [Weddeburne] abused me before the privy council and in this suit I chuse to sign the Treaty of American independence." *Newport Mercury April 12 1783*

LONDON FEBRUARY 11 1783. It is said they (London Treasury Officials) are making great retrenchments in offices and officers salaries and fees. Think you while this spirit lasts we useless burdensome *aliens* (American Loyalists) shall escape untouched? *that we dogs* shall be longer suffered to take bread out of their own childrens mouths? I trow not.———

Informed that Sir William Pepperell has summoned a part of the Massachusetts refugees to meet "at Turks Head" for a special occasion:—called at the Treasury was informed that a board would be held this week and the Commissioners acted upon and orders respecting the Americans given out. *Samuel Curwen's Journal.*

FEBRUARY 13 1783 Notified to attend a meeting of refugees. Voted to empower Sir William Pepperell to join in a petition to Parliament malgre le ministre d'Etat (in spite of the Minister of state) Sir William Pepperell had reported that Lord Shelburne thought the present an improper time to present a petition to Parliament. Since the meeting I find there are those averse to all measures at present and amongst others I confess myself a dissentient for the following reasons; the King having taken the refugees under his care by recommending their case to the consideration of Parliament * * * I fancy you wonder at the terms granted America as all the world does. *Samuel Curwen's Journal and Letters.*

LONDON FEBRUARY 13 1783. Emigration the Scourge which now threatens our devoted country especially on the sea-coast has already began its frightful devastations in different parts of England. If the Legislature do not contrive some immediate and efficacious remedy against this dangerous evil a great part of Scotland and Ireland and even of the North Western and Western parts of England will be presently deserted. The measures to be made use of by government should be mild peaceable persuasive and encouraging, they should offer rewards but avoid penal restriction *Newport Mercury May 24 1783*

LONDON JANUARY 4 1783. This day strong reports that preliminaries of Peace are signed. It is said great sacrifices are to be made by the British in the East. If that be all it will be well. Lord Grantham, one of the Secretaries of State, acquainted the Lord Mayor that the preliminaries were signed: this is a matter of joy to all well disposed to the true interest of their country. It is said to be a much more favorable Peace than all things considered could be expected. *Samuel Curwen's Journal and Letters.*

LONDON JANUARY 28 1783 The foreign Ministers were all at the levee at St James yesterday: a circumstance very novel but supposed to be on account of the admission of the

French plenipotentiary (pro tempore) Ambassador till the terms of a general Peace be ratified between the belligerent powers. *Newport Mercury* March 12 1783

LONDON FEBRUARY 6 1783 It is said that the American Ambassador will make a Public Entry which has not been the case with any Ambassador since the Venetians. To grace the entrance of the American Ambassador we are assured that the Genius of the Isle intends on that day to make a public exit. *Newport Mercury* April 19 1783

LONDON NOVEMBER 11 1783 John Adams Esq the American Commissioner made his appearance in the House of Lords by the members of which august body he was treated with every mark of respect The famous Benedict Arnold experienced different usage when he found it prudent to retire with precipitation after just coming into the House. This seems the natural abhorrence entertained by mankind for political apostacy. *Newport Mercury* January 17 1784

LONDON NOVEMBER 6 1783 Last Tuesday there was a numerous meeting of the Revolution Society at the Pauls Head, Cateston Street to celebrate in commemoration the anniversary of King William the Third. The number were about three hundred persons Sir Watkin Lewes in the Chair, Lord Surrey on his right and Mr Adams a member of the American Congress on the left. Many loyal toasts were drank The King the Constitution and the Rights of the People. After this Sir Watkin gave Unanimity with America and Great Britain; it was received with the loudest plaudits. Sir Watkin said that a member of the American Congress wished to address a few words to the gentlemen present. Mr. Adams rose and in a very few words expressed the desire which the United Colonies had to coincide in anything that could advance mutual commerce. Mr Adams paid a compliment to the City of London in particular and expressed his hope that there might be an eternal bond of friendship between the two countries. *Newport Mercury* January 10 1784.

LONDON NOVEMBER 4 1783 Messrs Adams and Jay prudently declined the invitation to dine with the Revolution Society at St. Pauls Head this day. The news collectors are such perturbed spirits that they will not suffer the peaceful American citizens to enjoy the sweets of privacy. Once for all therefore let it be understood that Messrs. Adams and Jay will have as little to do with public dinners as with ministers: nor are their dispositions suited for Tavern tables: where the dissonance of Bacchus and his noisy revellers is too generally taken for the mirth of social friendship. *Newport Mercury January 24, 1784*

NEWPORT JANUARY 24 1784. *Boston News* we have authority to say that the paragraph in our paper of the fifth under the London head wherein his Excellency Mr Adams is said to address the Revolution Society was a mistake and that the address was made by Mr. Gorham. *Newport Mercury January 31 1784*

LONDON SEPTEMBER 8 1783. Copy of a letter received by the Lord Mayor yesterday morning at half past nine St James September 8 30 Minutes past 1 P. M.

“My Lord etc etc The Definitive Treaty with the United States of America was signed at Paris the third Instant by David Hartley Esq. his Majesty’s Plenipotentiary and the Plenipotentiaries of those States France and Spain (and the preliminary articles with the States General) and will be brought over by Mr. Hartley himself. I send your Lordship immediate notice of these important events in order that they may be made public in the City without loss of time. CHARLES JAMES FOX. *Newport Mercury November 1 1783*

LONDON SEPTEMBER 9 1783. Yesterday morning a council was held at Windsor Castle and messengers were sent express to the War Office to prevent the Proclamation of Peace being made which was to take place today. This injunction it is believed took place because Mr Hartley had

not arrived with the American Treaty. *Newport Mercury* November 1 1783

NEW YORK JANUARY 17. 1784 The ship Favorite, Captain Vallance is arrived in the Delaware in seven weeks from Cork: she brings account of the meeting of the Parliament of Ireland on the 27th October. Sir Edward Newenham read an extract from a nobleman of exalted rank in France dated the 2ed October 1783." Notwithstanding your friends have spoken about including Ireland in the Commercial Treaty now pending between Great Britain and the United States of North America The British Commissioner has not done it: I am inclined to think the question was asked him and he (Mr. Hartley) wrote home for instructions but none arrived; therefor you have no time to lose. * * * The Treaty is now open and possibly may be soon re-assumed. I am confident that the American Ministers, Mr Adams Dr Franklin and Mr Jay will most cordially agree to include Ireland and give her every possible equal advantage, but it cannot be done unless Ireland is included in that or some other Treaty. *The Newport Mercury* February 7 1784.

LONDON JUNE 11 1784 To my townsmen S. Porter's lodgings Kensington through the gardens. There seems no inclination in him or any of the refugees to return back: fed I presume with delusive hopes of a compensation or rather deluding themselves with ungrounded expectations founded only in their vain wishes and desires of *court compassion* which may be justly added to Lord Rochester's list of ideal nothings *Samuel Curwen's Journal and Letters*

LONDON NOVEMBER 4 1783 Five hundred thousand dollars have been sent from New York to Great Britain. Half of that sum has arrived safely on board the first ship from that place and the other half is expected by the next ship. *Newport Mercury* January 24 1784

LONDON OCTOBER 4 1783. The political horizon of the Stock Exchange has varied within these four days in a most

surprising manner and contrary to former times, for ever since the news of the Definitive Treaty has been announced to the public the funds have been generally on the decline and look as if they would be lower—various reasons have been assigned for this most extraordinary circumstance the most probable of which is that the large sums that have been bought at various period on speculation kept up the prices of stocks beyond the true value and the Peace having closed these transactions real bargains only can cause a rise which from the scarcity of money are very inconsiderable. This joined to the present disposition of the Dutch who take every opportunity of drawing out their money is the best reason that can be assigned for the decline of public credit which at the close of former wars used to be considerably advanced. *Newport Mercury* March 6 1784

LONDON FEBRUARY 5 1784. Letter from a merchant. I have nothing but bad news to send you. Never did the political Hemisphere appear so cloudy—All is darkness and confusion. At a time when the national debt amounts to no less a sum than two hundred and twenty millions, the annual interest of which is nine millions sterling, a sum that will require the utmost exertion to raise we neglect this most material business to follow the purposes of selfish and interested men. You no doubt have heard of Mr. Fox and his party being turned out to make way for Mr Pitt and his friends: this young gentlemen has nothing but the antiquated virtues of honesty and inflexible integrity to support him and such is the depravity of the times that his competitors will easily run him down. Meanwhile the people assemble in great numbers and seem sensible of the impending danger. In short we have lost the dominion and friendship of America: Ireland too has thrown off every thing but the most slender appearance of regard for the dignity of the crown: in the East Indies all is rapine and confusion, in all probability the next dispatch will inform us of the loss of the greatest part of that oppressed valued

country. The West Indies are loud in their murmurs and remonstrances; notwithstanding the strictness of the laws and the vigilance of the magistrates *swarms of mechanics* emigrate to your happy country. *The Newport April 24 1784*

LONDON 1784` A wretched plight is this distracted nation in, from an obstinate despotically inclined King and a set of profligate unprincipled men of influence and politicians * * * Thus the Government once the boast of Great Britain and the envy of the world will soon find itself on a level with the most contemptible of those nations on which it justly looked with pity and contempt I think its *ruin* near enough for my old age to have the cruel mortification of seeing brought about by the most impolitic and foolish attempts; the late American war: and in the short space of nine *years fallen* when at its highest pinnacle of power glory and wealth it had ever attained to its present state of despair. *Samuel Curwen's Journal and letters.*

LONDON NOVEMBER 11 1783. In reality never was there a busier period or one more apparently big with revolution. The truth of the assertion will be evident if we only cast our eyes over the commotions in South as well as in North America: The movements of the Russians, the Turks and Austrians, the advanced age of the king of Prussia, the unsettled state of Holland; the naval force of France and what is the most important of all to an Englishman the present state of Ireland. *Newport Mercury January 10 1784*

REVOLUTION LETTERS

FROM UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MAGAZINE OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

OLIVER GROSVENOR TO HIS WIFE

Communicated by Ellen B. Larned

Fragment of a letter from Oliver Grosvenor Commissary of Col Knowlton's regiment to his wife dated East Chester Sep the 18. 1776—

[*Torn off*] prisoners and three field pieces on [*Torn*] which now sleeps in the dust were interred with all the Honors of War. I heard the report of the Cannon and Small Arms which were fired at his funeral.

Wednesday M'Clallen went again to Head Quarters and what could be done but that our Regiment go to Powles Hook & we returned back about 6 miles and are now waiting Regt to Come up and I am this hour a going to set out to meet them. I am yet unwell But through the Goodness of God I am not much worse than Yesterday, I am so as to ride about and am not Dijected in Spirits. Mr Williston's Wife's Brother that was at our house to get a Horse is now a prisoner taken at Long Island her Youngest Brother Died with the Camp Disorders at Norwalk the day I come through there. Mr Williston come the night Before with me till I stopt at Milford to make provision for the Company. William Cheney uncle Daniel Cheney's Son was killed on Long Island and his Brother Daniel was in the Entrenchments at N. Yk last Sabbath and has not been heard of since. I have not [seen] Capt Clarke nor any of the

Company since Sabbath Day. the Troop Just now past the house I am now in; and going to be divided into small numbers for Expressess. My Filial Duty to each of my Parents Desiring Your Prayers with theirs for me in my present Difficult and arduous Department in the Warfare & Camp. if an opoprtnunity Give my kind Regards to the Revd Mr Putnam and the rest of my Dear Friends which are at home in peace and we their Friends in Trouble— Let each & all of our Parents have this to Read as I have. not time to write to them; and this I have wrote at [——— torn off] minutes as you will see by the Days and Date. These are from your Most affectionate Husband and Friend dated at East Chester September the 18th A D 1770

P. S. I shall send this if an opportunity offers if not perhaps I shall add further.

MAJOR EBENEZER STEVENS TO MAJOR GENERAL SCHUYLER

Communicated by Benson T. Lossing

Ticonderoga Nov. 25 1776 HOND SIR I have herewith inclosed you a Return of Ordnance Stores, arms, ammunition etc— likewise a Return of Artillery etc, at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, under my command, thinking it my indispensable duty to inform you Sir the true state there of.

The Honorable The Committee of Congress, have been pleased that the corps of Artillery be raised in this Department, consisting of four Companies three of Artillery and one of Artificiers, and have been likewise pleased to give me the command there of, with the Rank of Major. I therefore thought proper to inform you Sir, that I have applied to the Paymaster, Mr Past, for money to recruit with, who inform'd me that he had no authority for issuing of money for recruiting; should therefore be glad if you could be pleased Sir, to grant me a Warrant pr the bearer Captain Lieutent Barr for drawing of two thousand five

hundred Dollars that, with what I have already drawn from the Paymaster Mr Frinslow, by the Honble Major General Gates's Warrant, will fully compleat the aforesaid four Companies to their full Complement. The four Companies, consisting of One Hundred and Ninety-five men exclusive of Commissioned Officers, allowing each man Twenty Dollars for enlisting during the War

I should be glad to know Sir what encouragement or Allowance is granted to recruiting officers for enlisting of men, and to bear your Honors instructions for the same

I now take the Liberty having this Opportunity Honored Sir To inform you that I was ordered into Canada by his Excellency General Washington, last winter with two Companies of Artillery of Colonel Knox's Regiment with fourteen ton of Ordnance Stores in which capacity I was obliged to act as Waggon master, Quarter Master and Commander of the two Companies of Artillery, with the rank of Captain, which pay is very trifling considering the Fatiguing journey in the Winter, through four foot of snow, and acting likewise in different capacities as above mentioned, and having at the same time a Family at home hope your Honor will consider it, as I have had the honor to Command Seven companies of Artillery the Course of the Season in this Department. which Duty has been very fatiguing to me, and have no reason to think that but I have given full satisfaction to my Commander I remain Hond Sir With submission Yr Obedt Servt

EBENEZER STEVENS

Major of Artillery

To the Honble Major General Schuyler Commander in chief of the Forces in the Northern Department

JONATHAN GILLETT TO HIS WIFE

Communicated by William Perkins

New York December 2. 1776. MY FRIEND, No doubt my misfortunes have reached your Ears. Such as it is, it is as true as sad, I was made prisoner the 27th day of August

past by a people called Hessians, and by a party Called Yagers, the most inhuman of all mortals, I cannot give room to picture them here, but thus much, I at first resolved not to be taken, but by the importunity of the seven taken with me, and being surrounded on all sides by numbers, I unhappily surrendered. Would to God I never had, then I should never have known their unmerciful cruelties. They first disarmed me, then plundered me of all I had—Watch, buckles, money, and some clothing, after which they abused me with the guns, They first knocked me down; I got up, and they kept on beating me almost all the way to their Camp, where I got shut of them.

The next thing was, I was almost starved to death by them, I was kept there Eight days, then sent on board a ship, where I continued thirty nine days, and lived much worse than when on shore, After, I was set on shore at New York confined under a strong guard until the 12th day of November, after which I had my liberty to walk over part of the City, between sun and sun— Notwithstanding their generous allowance of provisions, I must inevitably have perished with hunger, had not some friends in this town relieved my Extreme necessity, but I cannot expect they will always do it, What I shall do next I know not, being naked for clothes, and void of money, and a Winter present, and provisions scarce—fresh meat one shilling per pound; butter three shillings per pound, cheese two shillings, turnips and potatoes at a shilling a half peck, milk fifteen coppers a quart, bread equally as dear, and the General says he cannot find us fuel through the Winter, though at present we receive pea coal— I was, after put on board seized with the dysentery: it followed me hard upwards of six weeks, after that a slow fever; but now I am vastly better. I pray these lines may find you and your children in health and should be glad to hear from you if possible,

My sincere love to you and your children; may God pre-

serve you at all times from sin, sickness and death, may he feed and clothe you; but above all, prepare you all to appear before his righteous bar, that when called you might Each of You render up Your accounts with joy, My absence from you, I hope don't hinder your being mindful of your souls Welfare, nor my sufferings take your thoughts from your duty to God, Never murmur or repine at the hand of Providence, What God doeth, remember it is right, Teach your children the paths of virtue, and to walk therein. May they remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and live to do much good in their day and generation, May you have the presence of God with you, to enable and assist you in this important work, I leave you all if alive in the hands of a Merciful God—

After giving you a small sketch of Myself and troubles, I will endeavor to faintly lead you into the poor situation the soldiers are in, Especially those taken at Long Island When I was, In fact, their Cases are deplorable, and they are real objects of pity, They are still Confined, and in houses with no fire, poor mortals, with little or no clothes perishing with hunger, offering Eight dollars in paper for one in Silver to relieve their distressing hunger—for want of food their natures are broke and gone,

Some almost lose their voices and some their hearing. They are Crowded into Churches and there quartered night and day, I Cannot paint the horrible picture they make, It is shocking to human nature to behold them. Could I draw the curtain from before you, there Exposed to your view a lean-jawed mortal on whom keen hunger has laid his skinny hand, and whet to keenest edge his stomach Cravings—surrounded with tattered garments and rotten rags; close kept with unwholesome vermin—Could I do this I say, possibly I might in some small manner fix your idea with what appearance some hundreds of these poor Creatures make, in houses where once people attempted to implore Gods blessing—

But I will say no more of these Calamities. God be merciful to them, I can afford them no relief, if I had money I would soon do it, but I have none for Myself—

I wrote a line to you by Major Wells, to try and see if some one would help me to hure money under my present necessity.

I could not write more, If I had, the General would not allow it to go out, and if ever you write to me, I would have you write very short or I shall never see it. I have going on due me Six Months Wages, when Completed will be upwards of a hundred dollars, which I am suffering for now, and if any one will help me to any money now, I, in this empower you to give them an order on Capt Hubbard, who has some of my Money now in his hands, which order may secure them, It was when in the Cause of my Country I partook of this misfortune, and will one step forth to make my life in some small matter Comfortable while I live?

I have little or no expectation of being released from this my present confinement during the Contest, or at least not under a Year from now, but should I be so happy as to meet with a quick release, I soon would attack my old friends the Hessians, and try hard to be revenged on them, and give them full proof I never would be taken again, for I never shall forget the robbers' blows and insults, I met with, as well as hunger, What they robbed me of that day would with a Moderate Computation, amount to the value of Seventy two dollars at least,

I will give as near an Exact account how many prisoners the Enemy have taken,

They took on Long Island of Huntingdon's Regiment 64 privates and of Officers 10,—of other regiments they took about 60, They took the 13th of September on York Island about 180; on Manhattan Island 14, on Staten Island 7 men, They took at Fort Washington 2220 officers and men, They took on the Jersey side about 28 of officers and

men, belonging to the army—so in all it amounts to 2,513 officers and all, and how many killed I dont know,

Many died of their Wounds, and many, as I said before, we have lost, that went out with me of sickness occasioned by hunger, and more lie at the point of death,

We have lost ten Seregants since we came here, how many have died of the regiment I cannot rightly say, but I believe at least one third But notwithstanding this, we are not discouraged yet, Roger Filer has lost one of his legs, it was the left, John Moody died here a prisoner,

So, now to Conclude my little rugged history will be in a few words, I, as you know Ever did impress upon your mind to look to God for support, so still Continue I to do the same, Think less of Me and more of Your Creator, Were it Gods will, I should be glad to see you and the Children before I am Called to depart this life, but if I do not, I shall not allow myself to be uneasy, for Complaining uneasy temper of Soul Carries punishment along with it, so I exhort you to shun that folly, In this I wish You well, and bid you farewell, and subscribe myself your friend and well wisher forever,

JONATHAN GILLETT,

[P. S.]

Tell Corinna not to forget her father, for he has not forgotten her. My sincere love to You and the children. N, B—My duty to Father and Mother, Love to brothers and Sisters—and a remembrance to all Neighbors and friends, Especially to^A B, Colton, Mr Collins, Mr Crosby, &c &c

To Elizabeth Gillett at West Hartford Conn—

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON TO HIS WIFE

Communicated by Mary E. Bleeker

I

Sloot's House June 13th 1777 DR WIFE I have nothing material to Acquaint you with at present. I received a

Letter from General Washington Dated June 8th in answer to one I sent him. He informed me it is Uncertain which way the Enemy's Army will Move, whether up the North River or towards Philadelphia but Desires I would take all the Care I can to Protect the Inhabitants, if they should attempt the North River,—by the Latest Acet it is thought they Intend for Philadelphia, but I believe they are Afraid to move from where they are. They desert fast, I hear that 20 Regulars came in to Head Quarters last Sunday. I long to see you but my Brigade Major has not Returned yet, and I am afraid to Leave my Post at present, but if possible I will try to come home on Sunday if no other News prevents me. My Love to Mother and all the Children—and Remain Your Loving Husband JAMES CLINTON

II

Sloots July 16th 1777 Our Main Army lies about four Miles from here with Gen'l Washington. I had the pleasure to dine with him Yesterday, when we had an Acet that one Lieut Coll Barton from Rhode Island, had taken or stole away Major Genl Prescott and his Aide De Camp who will be a good Exchange for Gen'l Lee &c I cannot tell when you may Expect me home, as the stay of our Army here is Uncertain, though I Long to see you, or hear from you. I would be glad to Know when our wheat will be fit to Reap.

I hope the Negroes will exert themselves, as I believe they cant Expect much help from me. I am in haste Your Affectionate Husband JAMES CLINTON

[P. S]

My love to my Mother and the Children

GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM TO [UNKNOWN]

Peeks Kill Septem' 28th 1777 DR SIR We have nothing new here since I wrote you Yesterday, from the Northern

or Southern Army's Inclosed is a copy of a Letter from Gen' Parsons by which you will see what information he has—which with every other Intelligence agree's that a Grand Movement is Design'd somewhere— They can (from the best accounts we have been able to get) Muster about Six or Seven Thousand men at and near New York, Exclusive of a Reinforcement from Ireland of about Three Thousand. Since writing the Above I have had another Letter from General Parsons, and Inclose you an Extract of it. By their accounts, and every other there has a Considerable Reinforcement arrived at New York, which will make the amount of their army at Least ten thousand. You Know The Situation and Importance of This Post, Therefore I trust it is unnecessary for me to mention the Urgency there is for a Reinforcement of Malitia as Speedily as possible. The Detachment which General Washington has order'd will take about 1100 men from this post and Leave us about 1000 effective Continental troops and about 300 Malitia

I shall do every thing in my power to oppose their Progress this way and will with Genl Parsons, swear that I will not Run till I see them and fight them I am, Dear Sir
Your Most Obt Hum Servt ISRAEL PUTNAM M'g

MAJ GENL HORATIO GATES PRESIDENT OF WAR OFFICE ON
PUBLIC SERVICE

Capt Isaac Craig and other Gentlemen of the Artillery Station for the purpose of learning the Laboratory Art
at Carlisle

War Office April 28th 1778. GENTLEMEN. The Board have been favored with your Certificate of yesterday in Favor Capt Coren's Conduct with Regard to you. We are always happy when Enquiries into the Character & Behaviour of Officers in the Service of their Country turn out favorable. We deem your Testimony fully Satisfactory as

to Capt Coren—but are sorry any Officers under his Command are in a Situation to be under the Necessity, by any Appearance, “*of concealing their Ignorance.*” Either Mr. Coren has not been so communicative as he ought to have been, or they have been inattentive to Matters daily passing before them. Perhaps too they have been indolent or too much above their Business to employ themselves *manually* in it. Practical Arts are not to be learnt by Speculation. No Person in our opinion by merely viewing a complex Machine, altho he should attend to its Parts never so minutely either in the whole or by Detail, could at once produce of his own Manufacture a Similar one. Practice must complete what Speculation only begins. The Knowledge you have gained, it is expected, of the Laboratory Art, as well as your Experience in Life, must convince you of the Truth of these general Positions. And as you are sent to obtain a perfect Knowledge of the Business not only on your own Account, but *to promulgate it thro’ the States*, the Board make no Doubt of your diligently & *manually* applying yourselves to the Task you have undertaken. We have too good an opinion of you all to suppose that it will be necessary to impress this Sentiment upon you; because should there be any who are negligent or averse to being taught, the Board are satisfied, as Men regarding the Interest of your County, you would return to your Duty & put some other Person in a Situation so desirable as that you are now in. The Time you have been at Carlisle was one Argument with the Board added to their Anxiety to have the Laboratory Art more generally known, which induced them to write to Capt Coren on the Subject, & we shall be happy to hear on your Return to Camp, as we have no Doubt we shall, that the Knowledge you have gained by your Residence at Carlisle is equal to the Expectations formed when the Measure of sending you there was adopted. If there is any Inequality in your Acquirements it will be found that those *know most* who have *done most*

to Capt Coren—but are sorry any Officers under his Command are in a Situation to be under the Necessity, by any Appearance, “*of concealing their Ignorance.*” Either Mr. Coren has not been so communicative as he ought to have been, or they have been inattentive to Matters daily passing before them. Perhaps too they have been indolent or too much above their Business to employ themselves *manually* in it. Practical Arts are not to be learnt by Speculation. No Person in our opinion by merely viewing a complex Machine, altho he should attend to its Parts never so minutely either in the whole or by Detail, could at once produce of his own Manufacture a Similar one. Practice must complete what Speculation only begins. The Knowledge you have gained, it is expected, of the Laboratory Art, as well as your Experience in Life, must convince you of the Truth of these general Positions. And as you are sent to obtain a perfect Knowledge of the Business not only on your own Account, but *to promulgate it thro’ the States*, the Board make no Doubt of your diligently & *manually* applying yourselves to the Task you have undertaken. We have too good an opinion of you all to suppose that it will be necessary to impress this Sentiment upon you; because should there be any who are negligent or averse to being taught, the Board are satisfied, as Men regarding the Interest of your County, you would return to your Duty & put some other Person in a Situation so desirable as that you are now in. The Time you have been at Carlisle was one Argument with the Board added to their Anxiety to have the Laboratory Art more generally known, which induced them to write to Capt Coren on the Subject, & we shall be happy to hear on your Return to Camp, as we have no Doubt we shall, that the Knowledge you have gained by your Residence at Carlisle is equal to the Expectations formed when the Measure of sending you there was adopted. If there is any Inequality in your Acquirements it will be found that those *know most* who have *done most*

work. The greatest military Characters have thought Nothing too minute or too laborious— The great *Turenne* carried a Musket for a twelve Month & the *Czar Peter* was not satisfied with *seeing* a Ship built, but employed himself as a common Labourer in the lowest & most laborious Parts of the Business. We have from an anxious Desire that you should gain every possible Knowledge of the Laboratory Art gone perhaps farther into this Subject than was necessary, more especially as you were selected by his Excellency General Washington's express Directions, as Persons who would diligently attend to the Matter you have undertaken. The Board therefore can have no Doubt but that you will use every Exertion as the Eyes of so many are upon you. I am with Regard your obedt Servant

HORATIO GATES

President

THOMAS PAINE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

Communicated by J. Howard M'Henry

York Town June 5th 1778 SIR, As a general opinion prevails that the Enemy will quit Philadelphia, I take the Liberty of transmitting you my reasons why it is probable they will not. In your difficult and distinguished situation every hint may be useful.

I put the immediate cause of their evacuation to be a declaration of war in Europe, made by them or against them; in which case their army would be wanted for other service, and likewise because their present situation would be too unsafe, being subject to be blocked up by France, and attacked by you and her jointly. Britain will avoid a war with France if she can, which, according to my arrangement of Politics she may easily do— She must see the necessity of acknowledging some time or other, the Independence of America: if she is wise enough to make that acknowledgment *now*. She of consequence admits the Right

of France to the quiet enjoyment of her Treaty, and therefore no war can take place upon the Ground of having Concluded a Treaty with revolted British subjects.

This being admitted, their apprehensions of being doubly attacked or of being wanted elsewhere, cease to be of consequence; and they will endeavor to hold all they can, that they may have something to restore in case of something else which they will demand; as I know of no Instance where conquered Places were surrendered up prior to but only in consequence of a Treaty of Peace

You will observe, Sir, that my reasoning is founded on the Supposition of their being reasonable Beings, which if they are not, then they were not within the compass of my system.

I am, Sir, with every wish for your happiness Your affectionate and obt humble servant

THOS. PAINE

His Excellency General Washington
[Valley Forge]

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

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EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Buffalo Historical Society is distinctive in having had for its first president, a President of the United States, the Hon. Millard Fillmore. It is not a State institution, but a private corporation with aid from the city. It is installed to-day in a marble building of its own, representing something like a quarter of a million of dollars. The edifice, of the Greek Doric order of architecture, overlooks the lake in Delaware Park, and is remembered by visitors to the Pan-American Exposition as the New York State Building. This Society has given special effort to the creation of a general desire in the community to perpetuate American History and Genealogy. With this in view it has acquired a valuable accumulation of relics and records relating to its own vicinage, and has obtained a splendid collection of Indian curiosities, inherited largely from the tribes of the Six Nations. Its library contains an unrivalled collection of books and manuscripts, valuable in the history of Western New York and the Niagara frontier; also many rare volumes of National interest on such subjects as the Upper Canadian Rebellion, the War of 1812 and its Battlefields, the Anti-Masonic Agitation in regard to the abduction of Morgan, and the political history of the Erie Canal. Among the notable art treasures of the Society is an exact replica in bronze of Michael Angelo's "David." This statue is conspicuous in being one of the only three bronze replicas of Angelo's "David" in the world. The other two are in Europe; one in Florence and one in Copenhagen. There is also to be seen here an exceptional bronze of Abraham Lincoln, that is said to bear a remarkable likeness in feature and attitude to the Great American. However, the history of the Buffalo Historical Society is less interesting than its present. The Association makes it its business to be as use-

ful as possible to Buffalo and its environment as a whole. To this end, it carries on each season a series of free public lectures, one a week except through the midsummer; co-operation with the public schools of Buffalo by giving historical talks, both to pupils and to teachers; entertains classes of school children in its own building, etc. The Indian Museum, in charge of a lineal descendant of the Senecas, is a never-failing source of delight to the little people, as can well be imagined. All this is done by the Society in excess of a series of high-class entertainments for its members. It also publishes once a year, or more often, a substantial volume of historical papers, which have now reached the tenth volume.

The last meeting of the Society occurred during last June. During the year the Secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, has given much time to the collection of the unpublished writings of Millard Fillmore. The Society has now in press this collection, consisting of the speeches, essays and miscellaneous writings of Mr. Fillmore, who was one of the Society's founders, as well as its president. These papers, including much private correspondence which has heretofore been unpublished, are expected to add materially to the political history of New York State, as well as to that of the country at large. In addition to the regular work of the Society, the Secretary has been called upon to lecture on historical topics in other towns and cities. Supplementary to its own work it has concurred with that of kindred organizations, such as the "Niagara Frontier Landmarks' Association" in the making of sites to commemorate historical events in the Erie and Niagara region. During the coming September the Society will open its building for the meetings of the American Social Science Association, which association will hold its forty-fifth annual convention in Buffalo at that time. The Historical Society of Buffalo now numbers over seven hundred members, and, in vigor and expansion, ranks among the most active of such institutions in the United States. (Communicated by Mrs. L. C. Laughlin.)

The Newport Historical Society, Rhode Island. A meeting was held in the rooms of the Newport Historical Society August 8, of delegates from six historical societies of the state, for the purpose of organizing the General Greene Me-

memorial Association, under the new charter granted in January by the general assembly.

The object of the association is to procure a memorial for the late General Nathaniel Greene. When sufficient has been raised to warrant the going ahead with the matter a suitable design will be procured and a site, most likely near the statehouse grounds in Providence, will be selected for the memorial.

The six societies which compose the new organization are as follows: Rhode Island Historical Society; State Conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Rhode Island Society of the Sons of the Revolution; Rhode Island Society Sons of the American Revolution; Newport Historical Society; Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. Charles Warren Lippitt was elected President and made a brief address. Mrs. Ballou, the treasurer, reported the receipt of \$1.632 for the Memorial Fund and measures were taken to secure contributions from the various societies.

BOOK REVIEWS

YALE UNIVERSITY LECTURES. American Citizenship by David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; *Charles Scribner's Sons*, New York, 1907.

In May, 1900, Mr. William E. Dodge of New York City provided for lectures to the students of Yale University on the Responsibilities of Citizenship. The first course was assigned to the learned justice, than whom a better selection could not have been made: for he is to-day our main dependence for the preservation of our triple form of Co-ordinate government from Executive constructive usurpation. In a simple and lucid manner he treats his subject from all its different standpoints—the Obligations of Obedience and of Service upon the individual as a member of the Family and as a member of the State. In view of the heterogeneous character of our recent immigration he points out the necessity of an educated class, such as he was addressing, to take a part in public affairs. He dwells on the fact that from the beginnings we have been a Christian nation. That we have not been a pagan nation is certainly true, but there is a distinction between the christian and the churchman. The doctrine of Christ as taught by him are not those preached by the clergy or practised by the laity. The Judge quotes Lecky's saying that all government is a compromise, and that there must be party rule; and as governments are compromises so must parties be, and thus it is the duty of the partizan to sacrifice the minor to the major interest of his political creed. Surely the best way, to reform one's own party is not to cut its throat by voting for the other side, after the manner of the Mugwump. There are some extremely apt expressions in his pages, as when the proud declaration of Louis XIV "I am the State" is contrasted with that of the free born American citizen "I am the Nation." The Justice evidently stands for our colonial extension. How could he do otherwise. The oppression of our Cuban neighbors by the Spanish bureaucracy and the wretched condition of the Island made of it a "nuisance to be abated." The passing of the Philippines into our hands was a sequence; and cowardly indeed would we have been to have left them to their own internecine strife or a prey to any aggressive power. Moreover the islands stand on the very pathway of our commerce with China. Japan covets them of course as she does the Sandwich Islands; where there are to-day some seventy thousand of her subjects and a nest of propagandists of her policy. As these lines are penned word comes of her oppression in Corea—a sample of her intentions. Yet our own government seems to have forgotten that the improvement of Corea came from our recognition of her and the active exertions of our own people. England may yet find that she has called into life a new Frankenstein with no moral sense as we understand it. Yet there is no need for

alarm. Our battleships are not barnacled and our men behind the guns know a target when they see it; but a fleet on the Pacific coast always equal to its protection is the one thing needful in our relations with Japan. Certain it is also if there is to be a discrimination in our immigration laws against the yellow race it must not be confined to the Chinese. The advice of the Judge as to a change in our jury system is of the utmost value. The treatment of our jurymen is a disgrace, a barbarism for which the judges alone are responsible, as was shown in the late notorious New York case when a judge assumed the right to end the seclusion of the jury. The lecture is on a high plane of superb Americanism. Well may he say "*Civis Americanus sum.*" We must be pardoned for questioning the accuracy of the Justice's quotation of the old latin saying which he renders as "*Nihil humanum mihi alienum est.*" In my salad days at Harvard the rendering was "*nihi alienum puto.*" This is a small matter, but the Judge was talking to college boys.

FOUR ASPECTS OF CIVIC DUTY, by William Howard Taft, Secretary of War—First Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands. *Charles Scribner's Sons*, New York, 1907.

This is another of the Yale lecture series. The distinguished author is now very much in the public eye as a possible candidate for the presidency and a continuer of "My Policy" as President Roosevelt's odd combination of opposite and apparently antagonistic theories is termed. We are not of those who have any criticism to make on what our Boston friends call "Our Imperial Policy." Our reasons have been stated in the preceding review. But this by no means carries an approval of our economic relations with either Porto Rico or the Philippines. Should we abandon the Philippines to themselves to-day they would be cutting each other's throats to-morrow as conscientiously as the Iroquois and Hurons in our early history or Sioux and Chippewas within our own memory. Mr. Taft's divisions define the civic duties; I, from the graduate standpoint; II, from that of the Judge on the bench; III, from that of colonial administration; IV, from that of the National Executive. There is little to note in the first and second lectures except to take exception to his apparent approval of the monstrous permission of our law to the possessor of property to transmit it by will at his own pleasure unrestricted. No man nor woman either has a natural right to will away property inherited by descent from the natural heirs of those from whom it was inherited nor yet to disinherit any of his or her own blood from an adequate share of that property whether inherited or acquired. The child is not born into this world a consenting party and the duties of the parent are imperative. The laws of France and of Spain are more just and in accord with civilization than the unnatural restriction of primogeniture in Great Britain or our own unlimited license. Mr. Taft is a believer in party organizations and has somewhat of a contempt for the Mugwump. We commend this chapter to every graduate, particularly those from Harvard. It is a maxim in practical politics always to subordinate the minor to the major object and to nominate the man who is likely to come in winner at the post. The second division is from the Bench standpoint. Perhaps no class in the

community needs reforming by law more than the law-makers. There is one comforting assurance however. He tells us that "the Supreme Court of the United States is the whole backbone of government." Perhaps so, since it was Marshall who interpreted the Constitution and made the great body of precedents for his successors. He tells us also that it is the body to determine whether Congress is acting within its constitutional limitation and to determine whether the executive has exceeded his legal authority. But under the Roosevelt theory the unenumerated powers rest in himself. In the third chapter, the standpoint of Colonial administration, Mr. Taft speaks with authority. His opinions are not to be controverted. It is a pity he did not remain in the Islands long enough to bring his ideas to fruition. But it is in the chapter on the duties of the citizen that we find their definition as the great Ego at the helm of State understands them; that is to accept his opinions as final. Mr. Lincoln's idea was to wait for public opinion and when he understood it to take the lead. Mr. Taft seems to stand for the extension of the Executive power. We hold to the contrary theory. We do not believe in coercion of the Senate or pressure on the legislature; neither one or the other can be effected without the use of patronage or favoritism—the most prolific sources of corruption.

THE CITIZEN'S PART IN GOVERNMENT by Elihu Root, Secretary of State. *Charles Scribner's Sons*, New York, 1907.

This is the third of the Yale College lectures series. Coming from the distinguished Secretary of State it should be an authority. We have to see whether the "blandishments of power" pervert the vision of such men as Mr. Root. It is difficult for a man to remain in the cabinet of an autocrat without subserviency. Yet Mr. Lincoln held together and controlled strong characters of widely opposite opinions by the force of his own calm patient nature. He listened to all and out of the consensus of wisdom gathered the knowledge which made him the leader if not the master of them all. It has been said that he was the greatest of all of our politicians. He used but never abused his enemies. He recognized the right of difference of opinion. He never condescended to the methods of a demagogue. Since his day there has come to the front a politician as successful as himself; but not by his methods. We wish that Mr. Root had taken Mr. Taft's theme of the duties of the Executive. Yet there is compensation in his choice, especially in its four divisions. I, The task inherited or assumed by the members of the governing body in a Democracy. II, The functions of political parties as agencies of the governing body. III, The duties of the citizen as a member of a political party. IV, The grounds for encouragement. In his first division Mr. Root says of the American experiment in government "it still remains to be seen how it will stand the strain of the vast complications of life upon which we are now entering." Yet with due respect to the opinion the present condition of unrest is by no means a new condition. Webster called attention to it before the first half of the last century closed. The two dangers which now confront us are the usurpations of the Executive and the usurpations of the "labor unions." Yet there are signs of promise in the conduct of the Unions—a most praiseworthy combination if restricted to

their own regulation and not that of other people and also in the growing indifference of the sensible minds of the country to the workings of the Master muckraker. The chief duties of the citizen according to Mr. Root are to go to the primaries and to vote. Technically he is right. But for a half century the vote in New York primaries and at the New York polls has often been declared quite independently of the manner in which it was cast. Hoffman became Governor by a fraud of ten thousand votes in the city of New York. Cleveland became president by a quarter of that number in Kings County. And no man can say to-day whether McClellan or Hearst received the majority of the mayoralty vote. The story of suffrage in many of the southern states has been practically similar. The spoils system is by no means new. If Mr. Root will read the letters of Jefferson to Gallatin he will find where it originated. He opposes the whole system as pernicious. In this opinion all but the hide bound partisan will agree. But of all things let us find a way to a compromise between civil service reform as now practised and a life estate in office, viz. Bureaucracy the greatest curse of all. Autocracy we can get rid of. Democracy is changeable, but Bureaucracy is the most independent of control and the most difficult to unseat.

UNIVERSITY STUDIES, published by the University of Cincinnati. The growth of Ohio by Frank P. Goodwin, A. M., series to Vol. II, No. iv. *University Press—Burnet Woods*, Cincinnati, Nov., Dec., 1906.

This is the product of a teachers' course in Local History and presents a Syllabus of Ohio and Cincinnati history. In its preparation the author has had the aid of the best authorities. There are sketches of the Marietta and the Ohio land company. The first English community in the Ohio valley was formed there soon after the old seven years French war. The Ohio Company was the outcome of a petition to the Congress of the United States by a large number of officers of the Revolution, mostly of New England, to set aside for them the bounty lands in what is now the State of Ohio. Though promoted by General Rufus Putnam, the ablest of the engineers of the Continental Army, and favored and recommended by General Washington Congress failed to take any action upon the petition till 1785, when it passed the Land Ordinance. In 1786 the action of some Continental Officers resulted in the organization of a Society at the ancient Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston. This perhaps was the most significant and peculiar of the movements for Western settlement made in New England. It was the beginning of a set purpose to promote the prosperity and shape the destiny of the middle west. General Putnam, with his company of Pioneers, made their way to Fort Harmar and thence to Campus Martius, where they set up the General's Marquee on the 7th of April, 1788. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Ohio was passed in 1802. It forbade slavery and declared freedom of worship. The pamphlet before us contains brief sections on the subsequent history of this great state.

QUARTERLY PUBLICATION of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Vol. II, No. 1, 1907, January-March. Selections from the Torrance Papers. Arranged and edited by Isaac Joslin Cox, Assistant Professor of

History, University of Cincinnati. *Press of Jennings & Graham, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

There is no doubt that contemporaneous letters throw strong light on the history of the times in which they were written and often give clues which solve the mysteries of politics. These papers are of more interest to the people of Ohio than to the outside public. But some of them are of general interest. They show how the spoils system had become a cardinal point in the old republican party which Jefferson founded. Gallatin, Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, and the ablest man in his Cabinet, protested in vain against the removal of competent men—necessary in his department—because they were federalists. Jefferson's answer was that when one-half the federalists were removed the question might be reopened. Marcy later openly avowed the policy that to the 'Victor belong the Spoils,' and Dick Croker, the power in Tammany, deliberately declared before a State commission that the tax levied on candidates for office was his own personal emolument. There are letters in the Torrance Papers which have exceptional value. Letter VI touches on popular feeling with regard to the Monroe Doctrine in 1826. Letter XIV on the subject of the Indian Reservations in 1830. Letter XXXIII on the Alliance between the Clay party and the anti-masons in 1832. It must be remembered that Seward was the anti-mason candidate for Governor of the State of New York about this period.

The succeeding number of these Publications, April to June, 1907, contains Selections from the GALLIPOLIS PAPERS, arranged and edited by Theodore T. Belote, Colonial Dames Fellow in Ohio Valley History, University of Cincinnati.

This is a series of documents, I-XIV, with date from 1787-1795, which recite the History of the Scioto Speculation and the French Settlements at Gallipolis. This name (City of the Gauls) of itself describes the origin of the town, to-day the Capital of Gallia County, Ohio. It lies on the Ohio River and is a railroad terminus. It was another outcome of the efforts to attract men of the Latin races to our new country—like that of Gallatin with his Swiss Colony in Pennsylvania and of his countryman Cazenove in New York. The Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Major Winthrop Sargent had completed negotiations in 1787 with the board of Treasury of the United States for nearly six million acres of western lands in two contracts, one for the Ohio Company and one for themselves. These gentlemen transferred to Colonel William Duer of New York one-half of their right of preemption. Mr. Joel Barlow was appointed agent of Colonel Duer and his Scioto associates and sent to Paris to negotiate a loan or sale of their tract of land. The result of his negotiations is told in the succeeding documents. Some French capital was enlisted and a ship sailed for Alexandria, Virginia, with about sixty emigrants. Here they remained for several months, but were finally taken charge of by Major Isaac Guion and led to the banks of the Ohio. The success of the settlement seems to have been due to the intelligence and efforts of General Rufus Putnam. It would seem that these emigrants or their friends had purchased about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land.

THE LONG TRAIL. A story of the Northwest Wilderness. By Hamlin Garland. Illustrated. New York and London: Harper Brothers, Publishers. MCMVII.

It is quite enough to remind the reader that Mr. Garland is the author of the "Captain of the Gray-Horse Troop," to assure him that he will find a narrative of picturesque description and of exciting romance in this attractive story—and odd to say this without the usual element of love. A boy living in a Minnesota town, incited by a companion, who on later consideration thought better of the hardships of the Long Trail, sets out alone for the Klondike. The road was the overland route, and the trail begins on the Fraser River and ends at Telegraph creek on the confines of the Gold Mine region. The book gives an outline map which helps to its understanding. As his companion held back, our hero Jack decided to go alone, but fortunately meets a Master Trailer who took a fancy to him. Their ventures are now interlocked; together they soon find a new trail partner in the sketching of whose character and purpose the author finds a subject worthy of his pen. This person is a hardy but dignified colonel of the old school, whose object in undertaking this long wearisome and dangerous journey, was not to increase his sufficient fortune, but to overtake and kill a rascal who had murdered the colonel's brother on a ranch in Colorado, and was now fleeing from the avenger. In this pursuit the colonel displays to use the words of the author, "the energy of a giant, and the tenacity of a grizzly." No rest but that absolutely indispensable to man and beast. As the trail is about four hundred miles long, and had not been travelled for twenty years, the companions of the colonel without his motive for haste, had a severe experience. It is needless to say that the murderer was overtaken, for as the poet says, "There never yet was human power which could evade if unforgiven the patient search and vigil long, of him who treasures up a wrong." The situation is dramatic and the hero, young Jack, prevents a murder. Justice is done, however, for the fellow steals a boat, and endeavoring to escape is carried to his death over the falls. The colonel after liberally assisting his fellow travellers, returns to civilization, and the two partners continue to the mining camp. The book closes with a thrilling account of their adventures in the gold region, where Jack "struck it rich," and returned to his mother and his stay-at-home partner. For how long the story does not tell, but those who have listened to the "call of the wild" are rarely satisfied with the more trite pleasures of civilization.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. A Study of the Constitution: its origin, influence and relation to Democracy. By J. Allen Smith, LL.B., Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907.

The present seems to be an era of study of our institutions from their seventeenth century beginning to our last outcome. Mr. Smith insists that at the time of the formation of the constitution there was a bundle of states but in no sense a nation. This was the theory of what we call the copperheads in New York of whom John Van Buren was an example who made a condition of their support of the government of the nation that it should conform itself to the constitution. They were utterly indifferent to the normal idea

that the nation came first, the constitution second. The writer of these lines drew the pledge which dropping the words Union used the words "integrity of the Nation." Under this pledge the National League was formed which was soon dissolved but under which all the Union leagues of the country were formed. This is only recited because it brought to a close the old time controversy shall the nation be preserved or shall any theoretical ideas be permitted to interfere with the preservation of the Nation. One would suppose that when the fathers abandoned the name of confederation they abandoned the idea also and the United States represented in fact as well as name not a union of confederate states but a nation. Webster settled this matter long ago in his masterly reply to Haine, when he demonstrated that the "*people* of the United States" are designated in the instrument itself as the makers of the constitution. The constitution was framed in Convention and was ratified in Congress: a notable difference be it observed. The people who originally made the States now made the nation and it is to be supposed intentionally conferred upon it all the necessary rights to adequate administration of the government. The old question comes up again and it seems as though we are looking through inverted glasses when we read that Hamilton wished to give the upper classes a "distinct permanent share in the government," while Madison "wished to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority." Mr. Smith considers the Constitution to be a reactionary document and by no means an embodiment of democratic philosophy as is generally supposed. There never yet has been any government in accord with "democracy philosophy" which we presume to mean the direct rule of the people as best expressed by the French Convention of 1792, with its single house. Swayed by the passions of the multitude it came to an early end, yet the Convention was ruled by the Jacobin Clubs precisely as the so called Republican but really Democratic party which Jefferson founded was ruled by secret societies. Mr. Jefferson in theory perhaps believed in the ultimate good sense of the people but he believed in inspiring them with his own ideas. As a practical statesman whether as the war governor of Virginia or war President of the United States his administration was lamentable, but as a party leader he was an undoubted success. He held the reins of power in his own hands for eight years directly and for eight years more through Madison his chosen successor this policy was continued: not a pleasing chapter in our history. Mr. Smith is right in saying that the framers did not contemplate democracy, and it is fortunate for us that they did not. They ingeniously formed a system of checks and balances which put the brakes on the "wheels of government" and gave time and opportunity for reflection and revision, and they recognized the rights of property and the obligations of contract. This however is quite contrary to the views of our later Solon, President Murray Butler who declares that the "threefold division of governmental powers into legislative, executive and judicial has no logical basis." It is hardly worth while to discuss so radical an assertion. Mr. Smith believes however that we are travelling towards democracy. If democracy means an abandonment of representative government this is melancholy, for it was democ-

racy that brought in Julius Caesar, it was democracy that brought in Napoleon the First and the Second and it is democracy that threatens us with another term of Roosevelt which "heaven forefend." There is a great deal to be learned from Mr. Smith's studies. "Hear the other side" is the safe rule in polemic discussion. There is one admission which is incontrovertible: that whatever the written constitution may have intended it is the railroad, the postoffice, the telegraph, which ignoring the limits of space and state boundaries have welded these United States into a United-State, a solid and great nation. It is rather amusing to read that Mr. Smith sums up that the evils of municipal government are not the evils of democracy but the evils of a system which limits the power of the majority in the interest of the minority. Here we join issue and point to the history of New York under Tammany rule as a refutation of his argument.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY INDIAN MYTHS OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA, by A. L. Kroeber Berkeley. *The University Press*, Berkeley, May, 1907.

This is the fourth number of the Fourth Volume of the publications of this University: an independent and important adjunct to the great work which now for a half century has been performed by the Smithsonian Institution. One great interest of these Myths is their relation to the story of Creation as told in Genesis. Here special investigation is valuable because it shows that these Indians knew as we know now that the old world was more water than land. Any Myths or stories which touch upon the creation of man must be noticed. In this pamphlet will be found many curious traditions: for instance "there was a Creator; he ascended to the sky and there he still is." One of the interesting points in the Indian belief apparently common to all the Indians of this continent is that the animals were and are the brothers of mankind. We are told that California presents three ethnological divisions. First—in the extreme north-west of the State where there is a small isolated area. Second—Southern California. Third—the Central region. In one group of the primitive Indian is found the belief that the Eagle, the Humming bird and Coyote were the creators of the world. In a second group Coyote is prominent. In another the origin myths begin with the existence of water. There are myths of the origin of fire and of the origin of death and animal" tales in great variety. Again the conception of Ollebia "sitting in the above" or "who is in Heaven" shows a lofty and developed conception of a Creator. In the second section is the myth of the creation of the world, which is not unlike the story of the deluge, for the Eagle carries the Humming bird and Coyote to a peak of the Sierras from which he sends down Coyote to see if the world be dry. In many of the nature tales there runs a vein of vulgarity which renders them unfit for the general reader.

SOCIETIES OF COLONIAL WARS. A record of the ceremony and oration on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument of The Great Swamp Fight, December 19th, 1675, in the Narragansett Country, Rhode Island. Erected by

the Societies of Colonial Wars of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, October 20, 1900. Printed for the Societies of Colonial Wars of 1906.

This tastefully printed little monograph gives a graphic account of the last great struggle between the New England confederacy and the powerful Narragansett tribe. The rugged granite shaft was taken from a mound at the base of which are four massive stones, which represent the four colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut. The ground was the gift of the Hazard family. The ceremonies were concluded in a heavy falling rain, and the oration was delivered in the afternoon at the Memorial Hall in the town of Peacedale by Mr. Rowland G. Hazard. It is melancholy as well as interesting to note that there were three descendants of the famous Narragansett tribe present. The story of the Narragansett is pitiful; that tribe, of whom Roger Williams wrote in 1654, "I cannot learn that it ever pleased the Lord to permit the Narragansetts to stain their hands with any English blood, neither in open hostilities or in secret murder." Yet the Lord did permit the most atrocious clerico—judicial murder on our records when the agents of the four colonies doomed to an ignominious death the gallant Miantonomi, the son of Canonicus, the friend and protector of Roger Williams. It is but just to say, however, that the relations of the Rhode Island colony with the Narragansett Indians were always friendly. The hero of the Swamp Fight was Canonchet, the last of his race.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 30—HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS North of Mexico—in two parts Edited by FREDERICK WEBB HODGE *Government Printing Office*, Washington, 1907.

This volume now issued Part I is a massive double column volume of 972 pages profusely illustrated with cuts in the text, showing Indian personages and Indian life in every form. Of course such a work as this is out of the pale of the ordinary reviewer but even a slight familiarity with the subject enables one to see its consummate importance to all concerned in the study of the Indian whether considered ethnologically or historically.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, *The Royall King and Loyall Subject*, written by Thomas Heywood, reprinted from the quarto of 1637, etc., by Kate Watkins Tibbals, Philadelphia, 1906.

This volume III of the publications of the University recites in its introduction that Heywood's production is in the form of a play; second rate or third rate even when compared with those of the great dramatists who preceded him. The origin of the play itself is of little consequence and its value in the philological study of English literature is not important. Heywood as we are told by Professor Morley in his first sketch of English Literature was a fellow of Petersham College Cambridge and was a young man when writing for them in 1596. He was contemporary with Middleton and Marston and one of the most prolific playwrights of his time. He lived till about 1641. His fame is hardly commensurate with his industry, but his plays give a good idea of society in his day. *The Royall King* is a true picture of the Tudor monarch who took young maidens at will from the highest of the land and returned them at his pleasure. And the parent the *Loyall subject* makes no protest. The first phrase in Heywood's play

"Thus from the holy warres are we returned
To slumber in the summer of soft peace"

reminds us "of the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this sun of York:" an instance of the influence of Shakespeare on his fellow dramatists.

THE STATE COMPANY, COLUMBIA. Outlines of the School History of South Carolina, by John J. Durgan, *The State Company*, Columbia, S. C., 1907.

This small pamphlet is prefixed by a portrait of John C. Calhoun. Small as it is it comes within the reviewers province. As it proves both sides of the long mooted political question it is needless to analyse or to criticise it. It should be read, but it is a pity that it should be made a part of school instruction. No one questions the abilities of those great men of South Carolina who helped to establish the freedom and make the constitution of the United States, or even of those who tried to destroy the nation they had made.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH. Inscriptions on the tablets and gravestones of St. Michaels Church and churchyard, Charleston, S. C.

This is a valuable contribution to Genealogy and history. The old church was founded in 1683 and rebuilt in 1752. At some later day these records of old gravestones and monuments North and South will be gathered and to this end attention is called to this pamphlet.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Herbert L. Osgood, Professor in History in Columbia University. *The Macmillan Company*, New York and London, 1904-1907.

This massive study in three volumes begins with I and II. The Chartered Colonies: Beginnings of self government. III published this year is entitled Imperial Control: Beginnings of the System of Royal Provinces. This is another of these profound studies and exhaustive examinations which tax the industry and the intelligence of the reviewer, but it is still within his province to give some reasonable analysis and criticism. It is hardly needed in these days to point out the origin and the differences of the fundamental organizations of the Northern, Middle and Southern Colonies. Certain it is that New England never accepted an unrestricted English control and that Virginia until Bacon's rebellion did not make any serious objection. Yet in both North and South there was the same spirit of independence. As for the contention that the South was mainly settled by cavalier element we do not think it can be maintained. The Scotch Presbyterians were a great factor in the middle class. In fact the distinction between cavalier and puritan was in England political and not social. Fairfax and Essex were both Parliamentary leaders. Fairfax was the greatest land owner in Virginia. Winthrop and Endicott came of gentle blood. Later in New York the first Attorney General John Graham was the grandson of the Marquis of Montrose, and the Ludlows were of the most ancient Norman stock. We of New York all know that it was a conquered territory and therefor a province of the king, yet it was here that the principles of municipal liberty were first laid down in the Dongan charter. With due respect to Mr. Osgood there was

nothing else than self government either in the Eastern, Middle or Southern Colonies in the earlier days nor was there any material interference with their freedom of action until the home government attempted to enforce its restrictions upon trade. Our author cites the employment of Committees for executive as well as legislative purposes at an early date in Massachusetts and Connecticut administration as an important innovation when compared with contemporary Parliamentary practice. The Third Volume treats of Imperial Control—the Beginnings of the System of Royal Provinces. Here is recited the story of the Dongan administration in New York, and that of the much maligned Andros administration of the dominion of New England. Here I beg to take issue with each and all of those who entertain the idea that the thirteen colonies could ever have been subjugated by a power from beyond the sea. From the Alarm of Lexington to the Battle of Yorktown the British forces never controlled a foot of land on which they were not camped. These volumes well deserve the most careful study.

RACES AND IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICA, by John R. Commons, Professor of Political Economy University of Wisconsin *The Macmillan Company*, New York and London, 1907.

This is an extremely valuable study of the greatest problem which the United States has to solve to-day: perhaps greater than that of all the ages that have preceded it: namely, the assimilation of large numbers of dissimilar races into a composite race. This problem has been solved in Europe but on a small scale. We all know that there is not one of the countries beyond the sea that is not a composite of different stocks; but they were cognate. Less than a hundred years ago there were four dialects spoken in France, and of France so of England. Day by day these variations are disappearing and a common speech taking their place. What is happening in France and England is but an example in petto of what is now happening in America. To-day in the city of New York sixty-six different tongues are spoken. A century hence there will probably be only one. And throughout the country there are communities in which the English is not the dominant language. But the railroad, the post office and the telegraph as they bind them in interest will bind them in speech. It is in this view that the book is of inestimable value. It has been said that statistics prove nothing, but the very contrary may be said:—without statistics nothing can be proved. This great book covers a large field; as for the deductions of the author we care little though without the pretence of criticism. His philosophic deductions need not be considered. But for an intimate intelligent study of the immigration problem his work is of the greatest value. In his pages Mr. Commons covers the entire ground; reciting as he does the numbers and character of all of those races which have made of the United States a world wonder.

THE NEW BASIS OF CIVILIZATION. Civilization, by Simon N. Patten, Philadelphia Professor of Political Economy, etc., University of Pennsylvania, New York. *The Macmillan Company*, London, New York, and London, 1907.

This is one of the Kennedy Lectures for 1905 in the School of Philanthropy conducted by the Charity Organization Society of the city of New

York. The editor Samuel McCune Lindsay tells us in a brief preface that this is the introductory volume to the American Social Progress Series of Studies of the social problem, which are now at high water mark all over the world but nowhere engaging a more thorough investigation than in the United States and Great Britain. An investigation which covers not only a broad study of general principles as laid down by Sir Thomas More and Montesquieu; of their application as defined by Hamilton and Jefferson, of their method of legal enforcement as established by Marshall and expounded by Webster, and of their outcome in America as analysed by De Tocqueville. It is now universally admitted, except by perhaps a select few who believe in the divine right of kings and clergy to rule, that the source of all government is the people. In history one finds that in exceptional times they have given absolute power to their chiefs and as often reassumed it for themselves. This study of Dr. Patten does not directly cover the field of government but treats of the broader subject of civilization itself of which modern government in all its forms is a result. The true definition of Civilization is an "ordered state of society." Such ordered state has existed since the Western world emerged from barbarism in the middle ages and long anterior. To find a new basis for civilization is what the last generation would have termed a transcendental enquiry. Dr. Patten seeks to erect the structure of his new Civilization on eight different basic blocks: I—Resources, II—Heredity, III—Family life, IV—Social Classes, V—Social Conscientiousness, VI—Amusement, VII—Character, VIII—Social Control. This is a solid foundation but there seems to be nothing new in any of the blocks. With modifications they remain the same through all history. There is abundant good sense and good advice in this new Utopia, but in his final summing up the author confesses that "an ideal civilization is not a twentieth century possibility." But he claims that "a higher civilization is now possible" and is ready now to appear but that it implies a shifting from past to present conditions and he warns us that there must be "no halt for information, skill or racial aptness." To reach the Ultima Thule he presumes that the population of the White Race will be redistributed before the end of the century by immigration, so that each nation will supply its own labor market. This will keep our children and our grand children "on the move" Evolution is the natural law in the moral as well as in the animal and material world. The world goes around and around and we go around with it as flies on the spokes of a wheel, but if we venture to retard its motion by sitting on the tire, "good night." In a final chapter while deploring the impatience of social workers with the philosophy that lies at the base of their activities he lays down a program of Social work, but unfortunately it is a theoretical and not a working program. And upon this the doctors disagree. While in the Industrial Conflict reviewed in our last number Mr. Smith commends the *closed shop*. Dr. Patten holds the *open shop* to be the true ethical solution of this vexed question; in which we heartily concur.

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY, by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, *The Macmillan Company*, New York and London, 1907.

"In the Multitude of counsellors there is safety" saith the psalmist. Be it noted however that it is in *the* multitude that safety is to be found not in *a* multitude, and as hard to be found as a grain of wheat in the chaff. The name democracy as the author states in his preface is old but the thing itself is quite new and he complains of the misuse of the word in the headlines of newspapers in which a motto is substituted for a principle—the result being an "appeal to the mob not to the people." In Europe the very word Democrat is the rally cry of the revolutionists. In the United States it is the Shibboleth which attracts the European immigrant. The moral education of the individual not the intellectual education can alone lift civilization to a higher plane and make true Democracy secure; that perfect state which Plato defines as one in which all rulers shall be philosophers and every member of the self-governing state have an understanding of the true nature of government. Be it noted here that it is the *moral*, not the *intellectual*, education which is the point to be attained. It has been one of our errors to hold intellectual education to be a *sine qua non* of a right to suffrage. Yet the plain unlettered farmer may be better trusted with the ballot than many a graduate of even Columbia University. Mr. Butler gives us these chapters: I. True and False Democracy; II Education of Public Opinion; III Democracy and Education. In the first he points out the real difference between the socialistic program and the principles of the democratic state, and considers the debate of the French leaders, Clemenceau and Juarez, last year, as most significant and prophetic. But he observes that neither mentions in his argument the necessary and "everlasting contradiction between economic equality and liberty." The economic equality which the trades unions demand is that of wages regardless of skill or individual output. Even the public is forced into this system. The unkempt hackman with his dirty cab expects the same fare as the neat driver with his up to date surrey. Mr. Butler contends that each of the co-ordinate spheres of government should be kept inviolate. The founders of the United States never contemplated a democracy, but intended a republic. So Madison held and so stated in the pages of the *Federalist*. By the underhand influence of Jefferson, the ignorant domination of Jackson, the assumption of executive power by Cleveland and the Cromwellian attitude of Roosevelt to all who differ from his inchoate opinions we have drifted far away from the old buoys into that false democracy of which President Butler complains. In his second chapter we are warned to be wary of change in politics rather than risk a new variety. He describes the Boss system and quotes the cynical admission of Mr. Croker that he participated in the emoluments of the Judges. A more striking incident was one at the close of his career reported in our newspapers:—when at nomination time all the candidates were summoned to his private chamber in Centre Street and from that to the highest Judiciary office to the lowest heeler of Tammany every man without exception was assessed a quarter of his salary. Imagine a judge paying fifteen hundred dollars for a nomination. And this is the Democracy which honest men sup-

port or at least consent to and endure. Looking across the sea our author tells us that in Great Britain one far reaching reform after another has left standing only the shell of Oligarchy: the spirit and support of British civilization are democratic. We fail to see it. There is no such true democracy in England even as there was in the thirteenth century. The Oligarchy own the land and tax every source of income except the land they own. A writer said the other day "that the House of Lords will do well to reform itself, if not the House of Commons representing the nation will either mend it or end it." Fine words but as the old adage says they "butter no parsnips." Who is to reform the House of Commons? and they are as great sticklers for their privileges as the peers themselves. In his last chapter he complains of the Spoils System. Civil Service reform has greatly ameliorated this evil; yet there is danger in extremes. Bureaucracy is equally to be avoided and this has been promoted by the last service reform. It is a moral reform that we most need in public places. We cannot see the propriety of cabinet officers stumping the country to advocate the policy of their chief. And how absurd the other extreme—the muzzling of the mouths of our naval and military officers upon subjects with which they are better acquainted than their civilian superiors. Respectful criticism is always in order.

ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA, by J. A. Doyle, M. A., Fellow of All Souls College. Oxford: *Henry Holt and Company*. New York, 1907.

The Series consists of five volumes I-Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, II-III The Puritan Colonies, IV. The Middle Colonies, V. The Colonies under the House of Hanover. With the last two of these volumes before us attention will only be given to the Fifth; that which concerns the Middle Colonies is well worth the student's attention. The account of the Leisler rebellion is judicious and impartial. In the story of the disturbances in New Jersey the author seems to have confused two important persons, viz.: Lewis Morris the Colonel of the Parliamentary wars (the friend of Penn) and his nephew Lewis Morris the famous Chief Justice of New York and later the first governor of New Jersey. Colonel Lewis Morris—the elder, died in 1691. It was he no doubt that Mr. Doyle says sent the memorial to the Bishop of London in 1690 describing the needs of his fellow citizens. He was an earnest Quaker. "Morris" says Doyle, "even in more mature and sober years had the temper of an advocate and a partisan * * * and nothing of the Puritan about him; and if the stories of his own youth be true is not likely to have had an exacting standard of morals." But this is the younger Lewis Morris who was born in 1670 and therefor not likely to have bothered himself about such matters in 1690. He ran away from his uncle the Colonel when quite a boy. He could not stand the old gentleman's quaker surroundings. He married Isabella, a daughter of John Graham the first attorney General of New York. It is after that young Morris was active in the politics of New York and New Jersey; in each of which colonies he had large territorial estates. Graham was of the Montrose family; the mother of Isabella his first wife was a Howard. It is curious to see here the influence which connection with the family life of the Duke of York had on his appoint-

ments in his New York province. There is little doubt that Isabella was the Miss Howard whom Pepys in his *Memoirs* names as the maid of honor to Anne Hyde the first wife of the Duke of York.

The History of the Colonies under the Hanover dynasty is of more general interest, and treats of their differences as well as of their similarities. The first chapter deals with the general condition,—the last with the conquest of Canada. The four Georges whom Thackeray so severely held up to contempt were a sorry lot. George the Second,—the victorious as he was called because of the glorious termination of the Seven years of French war in America was perhaps an exception, but Pitt was the Soul of the war. But for George the Third we might still be Englishmen. As for the last of the four Georges history has disposed of his memory. Yet he was called the first gentleman in Europe!!!

Considering the policy of James, as Lord Proprietor of the Province of New York it is rather curious to observe that while in his appointments to office his policy was liberal his controlling motive is evident. As a Romanist he hated the English Episcopal Church to the forms of which like his brother Charles the Second he was compelled to submit and to conform. In his appointments, however, he favored secret Romanists like himself, and also the Dissenters simply because they were non-conformists. Dongan was a Romanist and Graham probably, but Penn was a Quaker yet had his favor.

SPIRIT LAKE, by Arthur Heming with illustrations by the author. *The Macmillan Company*, London and New York, 1907.

The Indian of these eight short stories of Spirit Lake is Standing Wolf a chief of the Saultean (Leaping waters) a branch of the Ojibway tribe; the greatest fur hunters in Canada who were found by the French at Sault St. Marie. This tribe is described as "the most intelligent the most provident and the bravest of all the tribes in North western Canada." Their hunting ground was "the Strong Wood, as the broad belt of timber was called which crosses Canada from east to west and has been divided for centuries into allotted districts to be hunted by families. The Trading Post was Fort Determination and belonged to the Hudson Bay Company. To this we are taken by Standing Wolf who goes with his family to get his outfit from the Factor of the Company for his campaign. In the succeeding chapters we accompany him on his trap-setting excursion into the wilderness and are made acquainted with every detail of this half savage life. There is an interesting account of the mysterious nature-cult which underlies the veneer of the trappers' semi-civilization. There are some charming pictures of domestic life under the wigwam, varied with descriptions of physical nature. The book is perfect in plan, style and execution.

ROUND ABOUT JAMESTOWN, HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE LOWER VIRGINIA PENINSULA, by J. E. Davis, Hampton, Va.

This handy little book with its map and twenty half toned illustrations is sold we are requested to say at one dollar cloth and fifty cents paper, and we make the exception to our general rule to comply with this lady's request. It is a collection of thirteen articles written for magazines and covers the

story of that part of the state of Virginia which lies between the James and York rivers, where the first English settlement on the Atlantic coast was made in 1609. The several towns are treated of in turn and are of particular interest and in this day of geneological research particularly so is the chapter on the James river plantations, with notices of the very first families; who, as a rule, were allied by marriage and lived on the banks of the historic river. Some of their fine colonial structures remain to-day silent witnesses to the ancient state of the Old Dominion. One could not have a better guide to the localities than this bright, well constructed little volume. In a crisis, passage Miss Davis claims that "in 1619 two thousand persons were living in Virginia, and that they demanded self-government. That one year saw in the infant colony the establishment of the home of a free, representative government and the institution of slavery."

STUDIES IN JURISPRUDENCE, by James Bryce, D. C. L. (two volumes), *Oxford University Press American Branch*, New York; Henry Frowde, London.

The reviewer has a serious task before him if he attempts even an analysis of such studies as these, for they view the entire field of jurisprudence—the Roman law, the Codes of Justinian, the common law of England, and the statute law, which may be considered a definite settlement of the various interpretations of common law, nor should Napoleon's great civil code, one of the monuments of his genius, be forgotten. For in many of its provisions surely that as to the natural right of children to the estates in part or whole of their parents it is a century in advance of the common law. In this review we have nothing to do with English government in India: it may last ten years, it may last a century; perhaps neither; for Japan, a creation of English policy, may become an unexpected factor in the Asiatic question. The second essay in the first volume notices the differences between the English and the Roman law. We admit a preference for the latter. There are hardships in every law; more tolerable, however, are those of a fixed code than the endless perplexities of English modern procedure. We take issue with Mr. Bryce on his assertion, that "the abstract idea of liberty, apart from the benefits to be reaped from it, has been a comparatively feeble passion." This is contrary to history; a sublimated idea of liberty was the ruling passion in the French revolution of 1789 and in the European uprisings of 1848. The American revolution was an exception; from the beginning it had a practical end in view. In the second volume Mr. Bryce comes nearer to us. In Essay VI. he discusses the constitution of the United States. Here the student will find a criticism of de Toqueville's American democracy. Mr. Bryce may stand aghast at the mismanagement and corruptions of our city government. Let him look at home. Bad as we are, the result upon the condition of the lower classes is no worse than the unrepresentative government of the city of London, where one may see a misery unequalled in extent by that of the same class in New York or Chicago. He has much to say on the government of the English colonies. In another generation Canada and Australia may dictate the policy of the mother country.

SPEECH ON CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA, by Edmund Burke, edited with an introduction and note by Edward E. Hale, Jr., Professor of English in Union

The history of the United States is a story of growth and expansion. From a small collection of colonies on the eastern coast, it grew into a vast nation spanning two continents. The early years were marked by struggle and conflict, as the colonies fought for independence from British rule. The American Revolution was a turning point, leading to the birth of a new nation. The years following the revolution were a time of consolidation and growth. The United States expanded its territory westward, acquiring new lands and settling them. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 was a major event, doubling the size of the nation. The Mexican-American War of 1846-1848 resulted in the acquisition of California and other southwestern territories. The Civil War, which began in 1861, was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. It was a conflict over the issue of slavery, which ultimately led to the abolition of the institution. The war also resulted in the preservation of the Union and the establishment of a stronger federal government. Following the Civil War, the United States entered a period of rapid industrialization and economic growth. The nation's population increased significantly, and its economy expanded. The United States emerged as a major world power, with its influence extending across the globe. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were a time of great achievement and progress. The United States played a leading role in the development of the world, and its values and ideals became a source of inspiration for many other nations. The history of the United States is a testament to the power of the human spirit and the ability of a nation to overcome adversity and achieve greatness.

College, *University Publishing Company*, New York, Boston, New Orleans, 1907.

In a prefatory note Mr. Hale invites attention to the two notable merits of this great historic speech as a model of oratory in style and of construction in its treatment of the subject matter. There is an introduction which leads to an understanding of the time and purpose of the speech. It was delivered in 1775. But then nor ever after until compelled would George the Third and his subservient cabinet have consented to any plan of conciliation except absolute submission by the American colonies. We must remember that until the declaration of independence the Americans still maintained loyalty to the King while they resisted the claim of Parliament to tax them without their consent. Burke's speech was made in January; the port of Boston had been closed; a few months later the startling shot at Lexington ended even the efforts of the friends of America in England to harmony. The great Earl of Chatham was an exception. But our business is not to review the speech. The rhetorical introduction of Mr. Hale is apparently intended for High schools and the critical notes on style are for the same level of instruction; not required for the uses of a University.

TOWN LIFE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, by Mrs. J. R. Green—two volumes in one—*The Macmillan Company* London and New York, 1907.

This quite remarkable book is by the accomplished widow of John Richard Green author of the great *History of the English People*, from which more is to be learned of the evolution of anglo-saxon society as distinguished from anglo-norman government than from all other sources. In the preface Mrs. Green (Alice Stopford Green), tells us that since the changes in civic life which began twenty years ago, in her husband's day, the story of the earlier evolution of those rights has been strangely neglected; in other words the part which the burghers and shop keepers from the day of the mediæval boroughs had taken in that evolution was neither noticed nor considered. She claims that in municipal history, whether treated on its popular or scientific side, no country is so backward as England. She admits that there have been studies of records but no attempt to trace the development of the ancient boroughs. Her first volume is a collection of innumerable extracts from records; a dry material which she vivifies by her style and comment. She explains the growth of the "Communitas" as distinct but co-existent with the "Civis;" a new problem which she found in the phases of the town records. During Mr. Green's life she had visited with him many English towns, but not till after his death did she in compliance with a promise to him undertake this study which is a corollary to his great work. She doubts "the theory of an early triumph and decay of democratic government," (of course in the past) yet her own statement shows that though not democratic the yearly town government was certainly communal, before the time of Henry the Seventh at the close of the fifteenth century. She allows that this great king with all his Tudor disposition to autocracy displayed great ability in the administration of the internal economy of the kingdom. In the first volume English towns and townspeople are described in their common

life and the battle for freedom in the different towns whether Royal Demesnes Feudal or Church estates, all inheritances of the Norman policy, she tells us that the idea of a confederation of the towns had existed from the time of the Danish supremacy in the group of Cinque Ports for defence; later organized under a lord warden whose headquarters were at Dover Castle. To him was entrusted the defence of the sea coast towns; which had to provide fifty-seven ships and their crews, failing in which their charters and franchises were seized by the king.

In her second volume we find a detailed account of town life, of its markets and crafts, and of the town oligarchy;—for oligarchy has and is the controlling power in England. The several town Councils are described with their widely different shades of administration. Having traced through the preceding centuries the gradual rise of the towns out of their poverty into opulence and dignity she tells us that with Henry the Eighth a wholly new chapter opens. During the autumn preceding his accession the boroughs she says "remained strongholds of robust faith and political freedom." The burgher had his notion of an ideal freedom; a freedom which had never entered within the range of his experience but in which he still believed in with a transcendent faith. Henry the Eighth carried out the policy of his great father. His hand was stretched out over the wealthy corporations whose liberties had grown into such vast proportions, and now like the Baronage and the Church the Boroughs were laid prostrate before the throne. Such was the principle of Tudor rule; a vast system of centralized government. Municipal government was cut down to its very roots. Mrs. Green suggests that the future influence of the working class may again make the towns centres of interest, but there is little promise of it in the conditions of urban English life to-day. Many of the towns do not now own the land on which they are built.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORIC RESEARCHES—New Series Volume III, No. 3 by Martin I. J. Griffin. Editor and Publisher—Ridley Park, Penn.

This number is devoted to the Roman Catholics and the American Revolution and especially to the relations of the Congress of 1774-1775 to Canada where there was the only considerable Catholic population on the American continent. The writer is severe on the several addresses to the people of Canada and on the occasional outbursts of anti-popery feeling in the colonies; But the politics of Canada were then unsettled and the religious lines were no longer strictly drawn by the English rulers. The subject of the addition of the fourteenth Colony to the American Union has been recently carefully studied. Mr. Griffin's researches seem to be particularly concerned in discovering the blunders in history. About every important event in history however has been differently interpreted. Even facts have two faces; all depends on the point of view. This number treats of twenty-seven subjects. Mr. Griffin has a life work cut out for himself.

NEW YORK COMME JE L'AI VUE TEXTE ET DESEINS par Charles Huard, Paris, Eugene Rey, 1906.

This book, charming as well by its story as by its illustrations, is in many ways both descriptive and illustrative and it is recommended to every one

who is interested in New York: the great modern city representative of the transformation of old races into a newer composite race. Its illustrations from photographs taken by himself make of it an up-to-date narrative.

THE LONESOME TRIAL, by John G. Neihardt, *John Lane Company, The Bodley Head*, London and New York, M. C. M. V. I.

This is a collection of stories of Indian and Trapper life in and beyond the old frontier of civilization now no more save as the boundary of the Indian reservations. The local color is skillfully depicted and the incidents are often of dramatic character. Noteworthy are the stories which hinge on the superstitions and on the dreams of those who went up in loneliness to the hills to listen to Wakonda the God of Nature.

SOCIAL LIFE OF VIRGINIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, by Phillip Alexander Bruce, printed for the author by *Wiltby and Shepperson*, Richmond, Virginia, 1907.

Mr. Bruce gives us an interesting and pleasing picture of the old life of Virginia from the foundation of the colony in 1609 till the end of the century. He seems wedded to the idea that the Virginians were all "*cavaliers*," a word which means nothing more than that they took the royal side in the English conflict for liberty. In fact the gentry of England were not unequally divided between Puritans and cavaliers. Indeed the idea of English liberty, which is to-day the pride of Virginia to have introduced and sustained on this continent was not entertained by the cavaliers. As for the names of English gentry in Virginia Massachusetts can bring an equal number. A pleasing chapter in this volume is that which recites the life on the plantations of the James river between which the placid waters of the stream gave easy communication. The only estate particularly noticed is Westover the old Pawlett estate. No doubt the colonial houses on the James of which the names are familiar to us were of the eighteenth century. Perhaps some day this erudite author will give us a volume on this interesting phase of colonial life. He speaks of the abundance of coats of arms as disclosing the distinction of the Virginians yet there is hardly an old grave yard in New England cities that has not many gravestones and monuments with armorial bearings and the record offices have many wills which bear seals with coats of arms. The school master was not much in vogue in Virginia in the early days and we all know how adverse the tyrannic Berkeley was to education, nor was it principally the churchman of England who saved the southern states in the days of the revolution. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were the main stay of resistance though no one questions the patriotism or the ability of the leaders.

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION, Jamestown, 1607, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, illustrated by William De Leftwich Dodge, *The Macmillan Company*, London and New York, 1907.

This is rather a presumptuous title. That Jamestown was the first settlement made by Englishmen on the continent is hardly reason enough for saying that the nation was born there, for in fact Jamestown was but a baby town when Salem and Boston, though later settled, were quite stalwart children. It was not the fault of Jamestown that her settlers did not spread

further into the interior but rather the petty policy or perhaps it would be better to say the absolute indifference of the British government and its failure to protect them from their savage neighbors. A more interesting or better written history than that of Mrs. Pryor it would be hard to find. While it covers well trodden ground and combines legend with the not less romantic though true incidents of history, it has an antiquarian flavor. Without a dull page she introduces old letters and documents, old formula and spelling and with such ability of construction as to make a continuous narrative. It is a great addition to Jamestown ter-centenary literature.

AMERICAN CRISIS BIOGRAPHIES. Judah P. Benjamin by Pierce Butler, Philadelphia; *George W. Jacobs Company, Publishers*, 1906.

This is the latest of an interesting series of the careers of noted public characters. Prefixed with a pleasing portrait of the Southern statesman it gives his private and public life from his birth at St. Thomas, a child of Jewish parents in 1805. It recites the removal of the Benjamins to Charleston; the partial education of the son at Yale College and his own removal to New Orleans where he began the study of the law as a notary clerk. He was called to the bar in 1832 and formed a partnership with Thomas Slidell, a brother of the noted John Slidell who later made history unaware. By 1842 young Benjamin had a practice, says our author, as lucrative as that of any lawyer in New Orleans. In 1833 he married a Catholic lady to whom throughout his life he showed an affectionate attachment; but the lady seems not to have been adapted to plantation life. The Jews of Louisiana were not orthodox either in their belief or their practices. Out of seven hundred families only five kept a Kosher table and but two observed Saturday as the Sabbath. The synagogue accommodated only about fifty persons and the Rabbi had a Catholic wife. Of Mr. Benjamin's religious views we know nothing; but he had no active communion with Judaism. Of a versatile nature and having purchased a fine estate "Bellechasse," he brought his mother to the plantation in 1846 and soon entered upon the raising of sugar cane, then an infant industry in Louisiana. Moreover he combined politics with law and beginning his public career as a Whig became first a state senator and later in 1852 was sent to the United States senate where he made a notable speech on the vexed Kansas question. On the collapse of the Whig party in 1855 he turned Democrat. Reviewing his career he may be fairly rated as what we now call an Opportunist. In 1860 he declared for secession and made what the author terms "a great speech." When Louisiana followed South Carolina in secession both Benjamin and Slidell resigned from the Senate. In 1861 Benjamin was appointed secretary of war of the provisional confederate government and in February, 1862, was made Secretary of State; a position much better suited to his nature and training. His correspondence with the confederate envoys in England and France is interesting. It is needless to recite their failure to secure recognition in England. In France they were deceived by Napoleon the Third who prudently "let I dare not wait upon I would." By Russia they were unceremoniously snubbed. After the fall of Richmond Benjamin prudently deserted the country and escaped to Eng-

land where in 1866 he was called to the bar and being appointed Queens Council by his unquestioned legal ability repaired his wasted fortune. He retired from practice in 1883 and in May the sixth of that year died in Paris.

SOCIALISM BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. A History, by William B. Guthrie, Ph.D., College of the City of New York, New York University. *The Macmillan Company*, London and New York, 1907.

Mr. Guthrie here proposes to fill a long felt gap in English literature; a history of social theory and of social reform. It has been the habit of our students to treat the French revolution as a social revolution. This is but partially true; privileges were destroyed but classes remained. Mr. Guthrie's work includes a study of the several social theories and of their chief advocates and describes the ideal state of society such as Sir Thomas More imagined in his *Utopia*, Campanella in his *City of the Sun*, Bacon in his *New Atlantis* and Harrington in his *Oceana*. He notices Morelly's *Basilicade* and *Code de la Nature*, of course the works of Rousseau, Adam Smith, Carl Marks and other social teachers are analysed and criticised. But centuries before these Plato and Aristotle formulated their ideas of a perfect society. Plato in his *Republic* held it to be a self conscious body, capable of controlling itself, a view essentially maintained by our later reformers. Aristotle questioned this view and contended that society cannot be controlled through government but that it is merely an evolution of the natural order. If slavery exists it is because some men are naturally slaves while others are by nature masters. That the rich are by nature rich and the poor poor. Mr. Guthrie points out that the advocates of socialism are not at one in their views. The one class, now called anarchists, believe in destruction; the other the socialists in construction; the one in overturning the order of things, the other in amending that order. Anarchy can only be reached by bloodshed; socialism may be attained by peaceful methods. An interesting point of More's study of society in England is the injury already done in his time by industrial progress to the laborer. The system of the "Enclave," that is the fencing in of the great estates of the nobility for deer parks and sheep farms, and even of the Commons where before every farmer had the right of pasturage. This system has continued to our day; even in the last century and towards its close the Duke of Argyle, a supposed philanthropist, dismissed his tenants of hundreds of years from an entire county that he might convert it into a sheep farm. Mr. Guthrie draws an interesting analogy between this foe to labor and the introduction of modern machinery. It is impossible within the limits of a review even to touch upon the various phases of the social and economic problem, but the book is commended as a safe authority to their understanding.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF Charles Russell Lowell. Captain Sixth United States Cavalry, Colonel Second Massachusetts Cavalry, Brigadier General United States Volunteers, by Edward W. Emerson, *Houghton Mifflin and Company*. Boston and New York, Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1907.

Needless to say that this is not only a scholarly book but of a high order of literature. The name of the author is a trade mark of excellence; but

it is not only the work of a scholar but the life of a scholar; whence perhaps that intimate atmosphere which pervades the book. It was the outcome of the pressure brought upon that accomplished lady, Josephine Shaw Lowell, the widow of the General, that secured her consent and contribution of material for the sketch. One of those high ladies of the school who avoid publicity as an infringement on the sanctity of family life she demurred until it was shown to her that a record such as that of her gallant husband should not be lost, but made an example for the encouragement and uplifting of the youth of the country. The name of Lowell in Massachusetts is as that of Emerson, a guarantee of high intelligence, culture and a broad sympathy with humanity which has been for generations the informing spirit of their forbears. Mr. Emerson crisply describes young Lowell in the several phases of his career as a "scholar, mechanic, railroad treasurer, ironmaster and cavalry commander. He was born in Boston, January thirteenth, 1835; he was graduated from Harvard where when but nineteen he was the valedictorian of his class. Leaving the "grand eminence of an academic rostrum," he first became a clerk in a counting house, next a common workman in the employ of an iron manufacturer at Trenton, when he was forced by hemorrhage of the lungs to go abroad to regain his strength. That well-known patriot, John M. Forbes, said of him, "He left his mark wherever he went." On his return he had hardly reached the border state, under the magnetic attraction of iron, when he heard of the attack on Massachusetts soldiers in Baltimore. He instantly resigned his place and went to Washington on foot; communication with the north having been cut off. He wrote to Senator Sumner asking an appointment on the military service saying "I speak and write English, French and Italian and read German and Spanish, knew enough of my mathematics to put me at the head of my class at Harvard * * * and can ride a horse and bring him home as fresh as any other man." Not long after, meanwhile having served Massachusetts as agent, he received from secretary Cameron a Captaincy in the Third United States Cavalry; later the Sixth. We cannot follow him through his campaign; enough to say that he belonged to that memorable cavalry of which it is said that they never saw an enemy's gun which they did not capture. That cavalry was commanded by Custis, Merritt and Gibbs and many others of equal fame. Our Southern friends seem to have taken out a sort of patent on what they term chivalry but it would be hard to find such a group of noble young men as those sons of Harvard; Higginson, Lowell, Shaw, Perkins, mostly kin or connected by marriage and who fought and fell or conquered in that terrible contest for the life of the nation. We cannot discuss here the letters of Lowell to his wife; there is a simplicity in them and an assurance of soul kindred which is charming and sacred.

HISTORIC DAYS IN CUMBERLAND COUNTY, NEW JERSEY, 1855-1865, Political and War Time Reminiscences by *Isaac T. Nichols*, Bridgeton, New Jersey, 1907.

Senator Nichols here makes a valuable contribution to the history of this county from the organization of a republican party there in 1855, to the close of the war in 1865; a decade of surpassing interest to both north and south.

Of his research there is evidence and of his accuracy there can be no doubt. To the sons of the Jersey "boys in blue" it must be invaluable. Moreover it carries over three hundred illustrations most of which are photographic likenesses of the men who made the party and who rallied round the flag at Lincoln's call. He gives an account of the Union League, a secret society founded upon the pledge of the Loyal National League of New York, an open organization which is remembered for its great meeting on the anniversary in 1862 of the greater Sumter meeting of 1861, on Union Square. This volume is printed on the best of paper and is handsomely bound. It is in every way creditable to its distinguished author. It should be in every New Jersey school house and on the shelves of the libraries of every historical and patriotic society.

FACTS ABOUT THE SOUTH. Promise of its Prosperity in the Light of the Past Based on Limitless Resources, by Richard H. Edmonds, Editor *Manufacturers Record*, Baltimore, M. D., 1907.

This pamphlet is intended to show the marvelous industrial development of the Southern States, especially in the last ten years, during which one item of product alone is that of over one hundred and three thousand bales of cotton, in addition to this over five thousand millions bushels of corn, between six and seven hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and as many of oats. In the manufacture of cotton the South is already a fair rival of New England, owing no doubt to New England spinners and New England capital. For the details of this wonderful growth the reader must consult the authority itself.

THE STORY OF A CANNONEER UNDER STONEWALL JACKSON, in which is told the part taken by the Rockbridge Artillery of Northern Virginia, by Edward A. Moore, with introductions by Robert E. Lee, Jr., and Honorable St. George Tucker—Fully illustrated with portraits. *The Neale Publishing Company*, New York and Washington, 1907.

Mr. St. George Tucker gives a crisp account of the ancestry of a North of Ireland family of Moore, which emigrated to America about the middle of the eighteenth century; one of whom settled in Virginia in what is now Rockbridge County. Members of this family served with credit in the war of the revolution and were also distinguished in civil life. The young cannoner whose autobiography this is, was a member of the senior class in Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, in the hot days which preceded the secession of the State and with his fellow students of his way of thinking joined the Rockbridge artillery and was ordered to the front under the command of the Reverend W. N. Pendleton, rector of the Episcopal Church and a graduate of West Point, Captain Moore followed the fortunes and shared the successes of that famous Puritan General Stonewall Jackson and we can easily understand that he covered a vast amount of territory in marches and counter-marches, all of which he recites in a simple, vigorous and sincere manner. The artillery command says Lee made for itself a reputation second to none in the confederacy. The story of the man behind the gun is always fascinating under whatever flag he be enrolled, and we heartily com-

mend this volume to those who wore the blue as well as to those who wore the gray.

LEAVES FROM MY HISTORICAL SCRAP BOOK, by Barnett A. Elzas, M. D., LL.D., Charleston, S. C., 1907.

These articles were originally written for the Sunday News, but have been since gathered and published in book form. The Author is a Jewish Rabbi of K. K. Beth-Elohim, Charleston, and associate of Jews College, London. He is an authority on all that concerns his race and his religion. He is the author of a History of the Jews of South Carolina. The present scraps cover a variety of subjects; revolution and modern rolls and some local biographies. There is a list of material for a biography of Judah P. Benjamin, the most noted of the author's race in the Confederacy. These scraps deserve a place in every historical library.

LEE THE CHRISTIAN HERO—a Sermon delivered in the Lee Memorial Church, Lexington, Virginia, Sunday, January 20, 1907, by Rev. Randolph H. McKim, DD., LL.D., Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C., *Brentano's*, Washington, D. C., 1907.

This Sermon was one of the exercises on the occasion of the centennial of George Lee. The point of the discourse is that a spirit of renunciation and self sacrifice was the finest trait in Lee's character. We are told that in his course at the military Academy at West Point he never received a demerit or reprimand, that he was offered the command of the armies of the United States to repress the rebellion and his refusal to accept the trust is claimed to be one great act of self renunciation. A second was his remaining in Virginia and accepting the post of President of a University, and this is not to be denied. The sermon is prefaced with a strong portrait of Lee in civilian's dress.

POLITICAL X-RAYS by Leslie Chase. *The Grafton Press*, New York, MCMVI.

A review of this spicy volume is hardly within our province. Mr. Chase is a free lance such as make the faine of the sensational press. He has evidently adopted the General Order of the Donnybrook Fair "when you see a head, hit it." That Mr. Chase is an educated gentleman there is no doubt, his book is replete with quotations, Latin, French and here and there Spanish. He has at his finger ends Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, The Gradus ad Parnassum, the Maxims of Rochefoucauld, and has read Rabelais in the original. Long a writer for the press he has the illusive nature of the reporter and it is difficult to determine what he does or does not believe. He does not believe in Lincoln, he does not believe in Vallandigham, he has no use for Jerome. He may be right and perhaps we are all going to the "demnition dogs." He says we are on the down plane. Mr. Chase demands the right of free criticism but the fashion of Thersites is "passe de mode."

PHRASES AND NÁMES. Their Origins and Meanings. By Tench H. Johnson. T. Werner Laurie, London, *J. B. Lippincott Company*, Philadelphia, 1906.

The author in his preface correctly styles his book "an Olla podrida," he says himself it is a "plethora of good things. Americanisms are not forgot-

ton but most of them came over early in the seventeenth century with the first settlers of Jamestown and Plymouth. There is a wealth of information with which every educated person is acquainted, and there is an untrodden field which we hope that Mr. Johnson with his ability and industry will cultivate. We allude especially to the vast number of words in our language which have their origin in the French. We are hardly willing to accept the opinion that English is better spoken by the educated classes in England than in America. We have not in the middle classes the number of dialects which one hears in a tour through Great Britain.

WRITING FOR THE PRESS, a Manual by Robert Luce, Fifth Edition Re-written, Eleventh Thousand. *Clipping Bureau Press*, Boston, 1907.

An important and necessary manual for that major part of our educated population, male and female, who rush into print. But its value does not stop here, it is of equal value to the editor, the publisher and the printer; indeed there is hardly a point which is not thoroughly treated. Enough to say that the writer of these lines of review has it always at his hand and there has been no day since it was received that he has not consulted it.

REED ANTHONY, COWMAN. An Autobiography by Andy Adam. *Houghton Mifflin and Company*, Boston and New York, 1907.

Whether an authentic autobiography or not is of little consequence. The story is that a confederate soldier who drifted from Virginia to Texas and while suffering from the injustice of the reconstruction period began to build up there a petty business in the cattle trade which later grew to large proportions. Our Cowman met a Union officer with whom he became associated. The story of this partnership recites the fashion in which they developed a great industry; the supplying of cattle to the North. It is a most curious narrative. In their beginnings the movement of cattle from the South to the middle west was about thirty thousand head. In 1877 the profits of the Union officer and the Confederate soldier were over two hundred thousand dollars but we must remember that they also included in their business transactions the purchase of enormous tracts of government lands, at twenty-five cents an acre. There is a history at the close of the collapse of the ill-fated Cheyennes and Arapahoes Cattle Company, which is not pleasant reading; for by the want of judgment or information of the President of the United States, at least five hundred thousand cattle perished.

THE CAUSES OF THE PANIC OF 1893, by W. Jett Lauck, adjunct Professor of Economics and Politics in Washington and Lee University; *Houghton Mifflin and Company*, Boston and New York, 1907.

With due respect to the author of this volume it is here distinctly stated that there was no panic in 1893 in the proper sense of the word. A racket in Wall street does not mean a panic; precisely such as we have had twice in the last decade. We have had three panics in the United States, general panics which covered the whole country; and all from the same cause,—a super-abundance of paper promises to pay. The Jeffersonians upset the famous bank of the United States, whose notes out classed those of the Bank of England in China. The burning of Washington precipitated the first Amer-

ican panic in 1815. The second panic was that which the ignorant and autocratic President Jackson brought about by the removal of the United States deposits from the United States Bank of Pennsylvania in 1836. The next disturbance was in 1857, a purely commercial panic, but in no way a general panic. It began in England where the rate of interest was raised to nine per cent. The English banking agents in this country had greatly extended their credit on this side of the water and as our great conservative financiers held firm and declined to discount any but first class paper, a run upon the State banks for specie was organized which forced a suspension of specie payments, but as liquidation had been thorough, gold had hardly an appreciable premium. The next great disturbance which nearly reached a general panic point was that of the autumn of 1873. The cause of this trouble was simple. The enormous paper currency in its various forms had been reduced to 73½ millions of dollars; one hundred and thirty millions gold, and five millions silver, the remainder green backs and national bank notes. The panics of 1890-93 and those of this year 1907 were but Wall street panics. Their causes were the over capitalization by the Captains of industry, the methods by which the earnings of clergymen, physicians and old maids have been drawn to investments in a thousand schemes. This over capitalization accounts for the great fortunes of these gentlemen.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES A. DANA, by James Harrison Wilson, LL.D., late Major-General U. S. V. *Harper and Bros.*, Publishers, London and New York, MCMVII.

There have been many great editors in the American journalistic press; of some of whom it may be said that they were almost the masters of public opinion; yet each one of them came to grief when they did not follow the drift of intelligent popular sentiment. Instances are of Greely's failure to dictate to Lincoln's administration, of Raymonds machinations in favor of Seward and MacClellan. It cannot be said of Dana that, partisan as he was, he ever aspired to this high role. Indeed we doubt, having known him personally and well whether he had any thorough belief or convictions on any subject. It is quite enough to say that he was at one time the advocate of Tilden and later of Butler for the Presidency. He was a first-class hater and no President who obstructed his ambition escaped his censure. General Wilson tells us of his official service in the western campaigns of the civil war when sent by Secretary Stanton to the camps of the generals, somewhat as a representative of the French convention "to the armies in the field. Mr. Wilson gives an account of his experience of Dana's experience in that service, which are quite different from what the writer has heard from field officers," but still we do not presume to differ from such an authority. Mr. Dana's wonderful versatility in the knowledge of languages, his personal acquaintance with the leaders in France and Germany of modern social progress in 1848, gave him a grasp upon the political problems of the last half of the nineteenth century. As a newspaper editor he has not had his equal in this country and since Fonblanque no one has approached him even in England.

RED RUSSIA, by John Foster Fraser, with forty-eight full-page plates from photographs, by *John Lane Company*, New York, MCMVII.

This is a realistic account of the conditions of modern Russia, which may well be called a *red country*. The pity of it is that one leaves the reading of the volume with a feeling of utter hopelessness. Russia is of all other countries that most under the rule of a bureaucracy with its unfailing outcome of corruption. We find the same in more civilized states: even in America it is the nightmare of our naval and military service. In Russia it is allied with an autocratic circle. The young Czar is between the devil and the deep sea; the oligarchic Grand Duke circle and the menacing people. The prevailing spirit of the peasantry is agrarian. "The land is ours say they." They already have the greater part of the agricultural land; over four hundred and thirty-four millions of acres, nearly fifty-five per cent. of the total of the empire: yet with his utter ignorance of the methods of farming the peasant has not enough to keep himself alive. This he will not see but demands the remainder of the soil and looks to the government to better his condition. The Russian hatred for the Jew is sufficiently explained. The Jew has been, and is, the curse of Russia. Taking advantage of the vices and the laziness of the Russian, he gradually ousts him from his home and farm and leaves him to starve. The agrarian distress has brought entire provinces to the verge of famine. The peasants are all revolutionaries; all want a Douma because they expect from it more land. The Zemsto, a governmental and industrial association endeavors to better this condition by advancing money for the purchase of modern implements of agriculture, but after the Douma was called they refused to pay the sums advanced, expecting a release from their obligations by the Douma. In a word the Russian is essentially an oriental, not a western people. Considering the difficulty of obtaining exact information, Mr. Fraser does not venture any prophecy. He considers that the Jew is a great political factor, but this seems rather a forced conclusion. For picturesque descriptions of this vast country, the beauty of its mountains, its Steppes, its great rivers, and its quaint towns with abundant illustrations, this book will commend itself to many who care little for political discussions. As a reporter Mr. Fraser naturally saw everything and every body, attended princely ceremonies and participated in the conclaves of secret societies. As a whole it is a conscientious and impartial enquiry into a much vexed question.

CANADIAN WAR OF 1812, by C. P. Lucas, c. B. At the *Clarendon Press*, Oxford, England, 1906.

This volume is imported by the American Branch of the House of Henry Frowde. The writer says of it that it is an instalment of Canadian history compiled as far as possible from the despatches on both sides, relating to the war. He divides his subject into four chapters 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815. Then follows the "Treaty of Ghent;" a General Summary and a thorough index:—important to the student if not to the casual reader. The book carries also several fine maps the "Seat of War in North America," published by John Melish in Philadelphia. A Page map of the Detroit Frontier: a view of the

country round the Falls of Niagara, a fine Map of the East end of lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, reduced from an original survey in the Naval Department. A Map of the river St. Lawrence and adjacent country, from Williamsburg to Montreal, from an original drawing in the war department. A map of the American coast from Lynhaven Bay to Narragensett Bay, with population of cities along the coast. A Map of New Orleans and adjacent country 1815, both of these by Melish. These are enumerated because they are fine maps and now reproduced in an excellent manner, and as they are printed in an English publication are rather out of the line of the American student. It would not be pleasant to review this story, inglorious as it is on its military side, while glorious on the Atlantic, where Great Britain supposed herself to be supreme, were it not that Mr. Lucas has with an accomplished pen a calm fair judgment. In the very first chapter he states and correctly that "the main cause of the war was the impressment of American sailors." To this all other causes were subordinate. The exercise of this demand by Great Britain in the affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake (the first Chesapeake) he styles "a high handed proceeding" which aroused the indignation of the United States and was the original impulse of the war. But as Tennyson wrote "the Fleet of England is their all in all" and sailors were scarce. It is mortifying to think that with sufficient time for preparation, Madison following Jefferson's optimistic policy plunged us into an invasion of Canada which Jefferson held would be an easy conquest. He thought that he had only to shake the tree and the Canadian plum would drop into his hand. We cannot recite even the outlines of the campaign, fruitless on its military side yet not without one bright gleam in Harrison's victory. We wonder now at the wretched statesmanship of our administration at the close of the civil war in the non-acceptance with the British offer to relinquish to us the whole of the northwest territory as compensation for her negligence or complicity in the matter of the Alabama.* Our victories on the Lakes, of Perry and Macdonough, need not be recapitulated nor yet our naval successes on the Atlantic, which brilliant though they were, were by no means conclusive. A mortifying chapter to the English should be and no doubt is that which recites the burning of Washington by their troops. Mr. Lucas pleads as an excuse the burning of York in Upper Canada by our troops, but there is no excuse for such deliberate acts. A greater mortification the British experienced at New Orleans where the very troops who had made Wellington's fame in the peninsula were defeated, and ignominiously defeated. To the general opinion of Mr. Lucas we take no exception. Chapter IV. as we have said gives an account of the Treaty of Ghent. We commend him to the letters of Albert Gallatin who was the soul of the American negotiators, by Mr. Henry Adams. Here he will find the comparative incompetency of the English commission. (*If ever made).

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON, by Oscar Browning, M. A., with numerous illustrations, *John Lane, The Bodley Head*, London. *John Lane Company*, New York, MCMVII.

This superb volume is printed on laid paper and is illustrated by a fine photographure from a rare engraving representing Napoleon on board the

Bellerophon at Plymouth. It is a pleasure to review a book like this in which the modern English view of that greatest soldier and administrator since Julius Caesar, "the foremost man of all the world," is given. Lord Roseberry and others have taken a more liberal view of Napoleon than has been the fashion in the literature of Great Britain since Sir Walter Scott's rather narrow history. It must not be forgotten that Fox, the great Whig statesman, said on hearing the news of the battle of Waterloo that the "clock of Europe had been set back a hundred years." Napoleon, who, to use his own words, considered himself to be "a son of the revolution," had no sympathy with the feudal system which the very name of the Bourbons recalled. Henri IV with his great liberal-minded ministers was always in touch with his people. Had his successors lived up to his standard there would never have been a revolution in France, but after Napoleon put a stop to its excesses he found himself compelled to form a new order of society, at home; while abroad he destroyed the petty sovereignties of Germany and organized the Confederacy of the Rhine, which was long the happiest country in Europe and still retains something of French amenity. Our author shows a high judgment when he tells us how the treachery of Austria to Napoleon was avenged by the battle of Sadowa; and he is unsparing to that Austrian, Princess Marie Louise and her intrigues with the vulgar Neihardt. The pity of the story is the fate of the little king of Rome. The Napoleon literature has been so thoroughly written of late years that the most intimate parts of his career have been recited by friends and enemies. Unlike Caesar, Napoleon had not the prestige of a great name, hence his attempt to patch together the broken fragments of a merciless aristocracy had but a temporary success; moreover his family, which he raised to sovereign power, was a hindrance rather than a help to him. It cannot be denied that he united those qualities of organization by which Julius Caesar founded and Augustus established the Roman empire. Englishmen are in the habit of comparing his military career with that of Wellington, but put to a thousand people of whatever nation the question and it will be found that outside of England not one in ten has ever heard of the English soldier, while the name of Napoleon is everywhere familiar. The volume is adorned with many illustrations mostly photogravure.

THROUGH SAVAGE EUROPE. Being the narrative of a journey undertaken by a special correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* throughout the Balkan states and European Russia, by Harry de Windt, F. R. G. S., with one hundred illustrations. *T. Fisher Unwin*, London. *J. B. Lippincott and Company*, Philadelphia. 1907.

The portrait of the handsome gentleman which prefixes this instructive volume gives assurance of the intelligence and amenity which are necessary parts of the equipment of a reporter or press correspondent. He was selected to make a personal observation of the actual condition of the Balkan states, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Lower Russia; a general field which he had tramped over many years before. He was acquainted with the Russian language, which is usually understood in these states, which the author calls *Savage Europe*, but which, according to his representation, are rapidly amend-

ing their condition. Bulgaria, under wise rule, is already well advanced in the development of industries which amount almost to a rivalry with great states. Nothing escapes the reporter's eye. If a dynamite is expected to explode, he must be there to see it. If an assassination occur he must be in at the death, or as near as possible. Bosnia and Herzogsnovia are amalgamated Austrian provinces. These Austrian Balkans are already important commercial centres. So rapid has been the progress since 1878 that Mr. de Windt does not hesitate to style the Austrians the "finest and quickest colonizers in the world." No where is a closer detail given to the personal comfort of travellers. Montenegro, the land of the black mountain, was hardly heard of till the Russo-Turkish war, which ended at Plevna. But Montenegro had single handed maintained her independence against the Turks for five hundred years. These mountaineers are a race of giants and the landscape is a "sea of mountains." Cetinge is its capital. Prince Nicholas II is its ruler. Dalmatia, a recent acquisition of Austria, adjoins Montenegro. Ragusa, its capital, is as beautiful as an Italian lake city, and it has at least one hotel as good as any to be found at Cannes or Monte Carlo. In the winter season the "Imperial" is crowded with the elite of Vienna and Hungary. The story of Serbia with its ancient historic capital, Belgrade, "the white city," is more familiar to us from its tragedies, the outcome of the rivalries of the Petrowitch and Obrenowitch families. The murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga is one of the most atrocious acts of modern times. The present king was brought up in Paris, and would gladly exchange his palace for his old haunts in the French city. Serbia is the garden of the Balkans, "the poor man's paradise," for the beggar is unknown and the peasant in the fields compares favorably with the small English farmer. A chapter on Bulgaria, the "land of unrest," follows. Sofia is the capital; Prince Ferdinand is its sovereign. Though unpopular he is a good administrator, and it is said can put a hundred thousand men in the field with superb artillery and cavalry. Living in Bulgaria is, says our author, "absurdly cheap." A leg of mutton costs ten pence, meat is only three pence per pound, twelve delicious apples can be had for a penny, with other fruits as cheap. Sofia has been called "a little Brussels." Yet the air is full of plots and conspiracies—all is unrest. The Jews are as well treated as in England. That they are Spanish Jews explains the matter, for they are the highest of their race. Roumania is the last of the Balkan provinces. Bucharest, "the city of pleasure," is its capital. Here one finds all the luxuries of civilization, but to use an American expression "they come high," exceeding those of Paris or New York. King Carol I is its ruler, and Queen Carmen Sylva the idol of her people. Roumania has a prominent position as a military power and displayed her prowess at Plevna where she left thousands of her slain. The state is a constitutional kingdom, and with Bulgaria may some day dominate the country. Together they are a formidable barrier against the Turks. As Red Russia has already been the subject of review in these pages, we will not follow the traveller across the border into the provinces where the red flag wags.

THE WOOING OF TOKALA. A. TALE of the Wilderness, drawn from Camp and Trail, by Franklin Welles Calkins. *Fleming H. Revell Company*, London, Edinburgh, Chicago, Toronto and New York. 1907.

This is a charming story of the wooing and winning of a maiden of high degree; for her father, Yellow Iron, was a peer of that historic personage of bloody fame, Red Cloud himself. In the story interest is kept up by graphic pictures of Indian life under the tepee, or on the trail. Here and there the white man is introduced. There is a Canadian priest and a French voyageur whom the charms of Tokala attracted. This with an account of a surprise by U. S. cavalry, make up the sum of the foreign element in the story. The descriptions of country are exquisite, and have a poetic flavor. Every chapter has its dramatic incident. The author tells an unvarnished tale and paints the savage as he is, or was, without praise or blame. The powers of the Mystery man he ascribes to hypnotism, or the exercise of a magnetic influence; enormously strong in some of the medicine men. The universal reverence held for the Most Mysterious life-giving Sun is vividly shown in the description of the Great Sun Dance on the Smoky river in the shadow of the great Butte—by which name it is known. This half religious festivity to which all tribes, whether friendly or hostile, were alike invited, gave opportunity for political conference—somewhat after the manner of a congress. On the occasion described, among the great chiefs present are found the historic characters Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Sitting Bull of the Sioux, Cloud Chief of the Crows, and other leaders of the Comanches, the Black Feet, the Utes and the Pawnees. In a foot note the author tells us that he visited the Black Hills of Dakota (the scene of one of his chapters) soon after Custer's attempt at exploration in 1874, and found no trace of Indian trails, villages or burial places, but found the animals fearless at the approach of man. These were the sacred hills, the abode of the Most Mysterious. Some had never been trodden by the feet of man, others abounded in healing springs, hot and cold. Here no Dakota ever carried his war weapons or struck an animal or bird.

MEMOIRS OF THE COMTESSE DE BOIGNE, 1781-1814. Edited from the original MS. by M. Charles Nicoullaud, with portraits. *Charles Scribner's Sons*, 1907, New York.

This great lady of the "ancient regime," was a complete example of the transition between the old and the new order of society in France. Brought up as she says on the knees of royalty, she naturally clung to the conservative aristocratic conditions of the old, but her opinions were tinged with the philosophy and liberalism of the new school. A daughter of the Marquis D'Osmond, she was born at Versailles in the atmosphere of the court, where her mother was one of the ladies of Madame Adelaide, daughter of Louis XV. Mademoiselle D'Osmond's education was completed in England, but as her father was at one time ambassador to Turin, and later to London, she no doubt learned to take a wide vision of passing events, and to adapt herself to those vicissitudes of life and fortune which were the rule, rather than the exception, of all classes in the stormy days, from the execution of Louis XVI to the Restoration. In the recent past we have had books innumerable

on the history of Napoleon, that wonderful man who was the "sword of the revolution." With all its faults and crimes the French revolution was the dawn of a new epoch in the history of civilization, and it cannot be denied that those people who have followed the principles of the declaration of 1789 are the happiest and the most prosperous. We may question the wisdom of the execution of the king, we may shed tears over the fate of Marie Antoinette, the most charming figure in the history of France, we may be blinded by the glitter of Napoleon's career, but when we consider the reactionary policy of the restoration and the contempt into which the no less reactionary policy of Louis Phillippe, the king of the French, had brought the country, we can understand the detestation of the French people to the entire Bourbon race. This charming book, perhaps the most instructive of the many that have appeared on French history and biography since Taine's great study (which it is said was in large measure made up from the Countesses' Memoirs) is full of pen pictures of the leading characters of the day, with all of whom she was personally familiar. In the original we should expect to find the simplicity of the Memoirs of Madame de Motteville, of the Grande Mademoiselle, and of Madame de Savigne without the cynicism of Saint Simon. Rarely does the great lady condescend to steep her pen in gall. The passages in which she relates the absurd fatuous self-importance of Louis XVIII, and the last days of Napoleon's career, give some new facts. While she was never willing to "rally," as the term is to that small aristocratic coterie, which accepted place and preferment from Napoleon, yet she frankly admits the fascination of his personality, his dominating influence over all with whom he came in contact. Aside from politics her observations on persons, morals and manners are valuable. She describes the strict observance of the rules of demeanor in high life, yet gives us to understand that it was but the veneer of polite society. She lets us into the story of the lives of the French Emigrés in England. She gives us a fine picture of Madame Recamier, the great beauty and the great coquette, and of "her right and left bowers," Benjamin Constant, and that sum of selfishness, Chateaubriand. She tells us that Madame de Campan was but a "boarding house mistress," and no doubt judged this time-server at her true value. She tells us also the story of the Orleans princes which she detested, and for cause. From the time of Gaston, who sold his friends, to the last descendant, the roué of the concert halls, there is only one great Orleans figure in French history—the masterful Regent, that great statesman who saved France from the priests and the Spaniards. Perhaps we should make exception in favor of the sons of Louis Phillippe, who though not great men brought no discredit on their race, and of the Comte de Paris who won his spurs in the defence of our Union. We are glad to hear from Mr. Nicoulland that this is the first instalment of these Memoirs.

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A Hamilton

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OUR MAGNA CHARTA AND SOME OF THE STEPS LEADING TO ITS ESTABLISHMENT

BY JOHN B. CASSODAY

THE most important things in life are generally the most common. The most common things in life are generally the least appreciated. Thus seed time and harvest, summer and winter, day and night, earth and air, fire and water, are indispensable to happiness, and yet comparatively few who enjoy, daily return grateful acknowledgment to the munificent Giver. In a limited sense, the same is true in respect to some things instituted by men. Among such institutions, none stand out more prominently than government; and yet, comparatively few fully appreciate that the absence of government implies the presence of confusion, disorder, anarchy, terror and unrestrained crime.

The experience of the ages has demonstrated the necessity of some kind of government. This has led to the assertion, in many different forms, to the effect that any government, even the most arbitrary and corrupt, is better than no government. This necessity is the result of the savagery and brutality so common among unregenerated, unrefined, uneducated, uncivilized humanity. Actuated by envy, the first born of the race deliberately murdered his own brother, because he was better than himself. The family of Jacob must have been as well trained as any in his section of the country, and yet for a supposed personal advantage, eleven of his sons sold one of their brethren into cruel slavery. If diseases are the result of sin, then their prevalence and variety suggest a multitude of sinners. From the begin-

ning of the race in every generation and in every climate, down to the present moment of time, the unrestrained passions and animalism of men have been productive of sorrow, pain, suffering and death—not only in countries where barbarism has reigned, or anarchy has become triumphant, but, at times, in the most civilized and refined nations of the earth. In the infancy of the race, there were but few to govern and they were more or less scattered; and there was only occasionally one with any capacity for government. As the people multiplied, government of some kind was absolutely essential to secure order and the lives, the liberty and the property of the weak and innocent, from those who were strong, brutal, desperate and wicked. In studying governmental evolution, it is, in the language of a recent writer, “a prevalent error . . . to over-estimate intelligence, and under-estimate instinct.”

A government may have originated with a single individual—a select few or a convention of many. It may have been instituted by gradual reconstruction, or by revolution, or even by usurpation—and then maintained by military despotism—yet the necessity for its continuance until supplanted or superseded by some other government, is imperative.

Fortunately, most of us have inherited a government already made. Some have it by adoption. As American citizens, we may be prone to unduly praise our system of government, and hence should proceed with caution. The European statesman and political writers have no such prejudice. More than fifty years ago, and while men were held in bondage in half the states of our Union, De Tocqueville paid a glowing tribute to our government—especially its judicial department—and particularly referred to the centralization of national power as being balanced by the decentralization of national administration.

Mr. Bryce frankly says: “The constitution (of 1788) deserves the veneration with which the Americans have

been accustomed to regard it. . . . After all deductions, it ranks above every other written constitution for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation to the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity and precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details."

Mr. Gladstone says that, "as the British constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." With such acknowledgments, coming from such sources, it would ill become an American citizen to under-rate its intrinsic excellence and efficiency. But that great English statesman is too familiar with the elements of the American government to mean, by the words last quoted, that this nation was conceived and born in a day, or that it emanated wholly from the brain of one man or one body of men. On the contrary he undoubtedly agrees with his liberal friend, Mr. Bryce, in saying: "There is little in that constitution that is absolutely new. There is much that is as old as Magna Charta." Or, as Mr. Webster expressed it in his great argument in the Rhode Island case: "Our American liberty . . . has an ancestry, a pedigree, a history. Our ancestors brought to this continent all that was valuable, in their judgment, in the political institutions of England, and left behind them all that was without value, or that was objectionable." In other words, whatever may be our views respecting animal evolution, all thoughtful and discriminating students of history must agree that there have been running through the ages moral evolution, religious evolution, social evolution, and governmental evolution, and that the American Republic, as it now stands, is the highest governmental result of all such evolutions.

But there can be no such thing as government without the right to govern. "There is and must be in all" forms

of government, said Blackstone, "a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which . . . the rights of sovereignty reside." The same author tells us, in effect, that political writers of antiquity allowed only three regular forms of government; and that all others were modifications of those three: 1. Democracy, where "the sovereign power is lodged in the aggregate assembly consisting of all the free members of a community;" and hence, where public virtue and good intentions are most likely to be found; and therefore it is usually the best calculated to direct the end of the law," but "frequently foolish in their contrivance, and weak in their execution." 2. Aristocracy, where the sovereign power "is lodged in a council, composed of select members;" and hence, there is more wisdom to invent the means for carrying the desired end into execution; "but there is less honesty than in a republic, and less strength than in a monarchy." 3. Monarchy, where the sovereign power is lodged in a single person; and, hence, most powerful for carrying its mandates into execution; "but then there is imminent danger of his employing that strength to improvident or oppressive purposes."

But the governments of our times are of many varieties. In most, the governing power seeks its own advantage merely, instead of the advantage of the whole state—which, according to Aristotle, marks the distinction between the bad and the good. Obviously, that form of government is best which stimulates and secures the greatest amount of intelligence, wisdom, industry, honesty, public virtue, liberty, patriotism, benevolence and charity to the unfortunate, with sufficient strength and concentration of power to maintain order and domestic tranquility, and at the same time command respect among the great powers of the earth.

Such being the purposes of government, it is very manifest that the government and people of any country should

be adapted to each other. Thus a country in which a large proportion of the people are intelligent, virtuous and wise, may, and should have a higher, and hence, a more complicated system of government, than a country in which the great mass of the people are ignorant, vicious and foolish. It is still true that ignorance and stupidity sometimes are found in houses of wealth and royalty, as well as in the abodes of poverty and helplessness.

Only a few years ago it was found on attempting to build a railway in one of our western territories, that some of the inhabitants were so ignorant that they had never seen or heard of a railroad train or a railroad; and had no conception of their operation. If such ignorance is possible in this last half of the nineteenth century, here in the United States, where religion is unrestricted, where common schools are free, where speech is free, and where the press is free and newspapers are spread broadcast throughout the country daily, then what must have been the ignorance of the great mass of the people during the forty centuries preceding the Christian era, and even since, especially before the art of printing was discovered.

Had one language always prevailed the whole earth, universal ignorance would, probably, have been more likely to prevail, but the confusion of tongues at Babel and the diversity of languages which followed, compelled men to study in order to communicate with each other. True, during the dark periods mentioned, intellectual and spiritual lights of more or less brilliancy appeared from time to time on the Nile, in northern Africa, along the Euphrates and the Tigris, in Palestine, Macedonia, Greece, Rome and other places — nevertheless, the great mass of men must have been unfit to perform any of the functions of government, except, perhaps, to pay tribute and perform services in peace and war.

Under such conditions the only government possible was necessarily simple in its form and direct in its operations. Obviously, the most simple government is the arbitrary

rule of a single individual, whether he is called patriarch, chief, governor, king or monarch.

But a single individual could never govern a vast multitude, occupying an extensive country, except through subordinates. The use of such agencies necessarily developed the agents, and frequently they became superior—morally and intellectually—to the rulers themselves. Such schools of experience tended from time to time to influence and control rulers; and even to modify and change forms of government; and hence, oligarchies, aristocracies, and democracies in the fullness of time and in certain places, made their appearance. But as the boy never learns to swim until he has been allowed to go into the water, so the mass of the people in olden times remained ignorant of the functions of government, because they had no participation therein, except as subjects rendering service or paying tribute.

Such oligarchies, aristocracies and democracies were generally developed on the shores of navigable waters, or where commerce had otherwise been established. Nevertheless, they were simple in their conceptions, and rude in their methods of execution. But it has always been found difficult to govern a great multitude of people, even though excessively ignorant, by mere brute force; and so the theocratic principle early made its appearance in Africa, Asia and Europe. It was not the personality of Moses or Joshua that controlled the wandering Isarelites, but the voice of God back of them—the history of Joseph, the dividing of the waters, the safe deliverance, the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, the water from the rock, the fire in the bush, the manna in the wilderness, the flowing back of the waters of the Jordan.

The one man who chased a thousand was not alone. The monarchy of wicked Saul seems to have been divinely appointed, but it was also divinely improved by David. Solomon prayed for “wisdom and knowledge” to govern

his kingdom, and the prayer was granted, but at times he lacked the requisite force of character to govern himself.

Alexander at the head of his army and with conquest in his heart would demolish Jerusalem, but the appearance of the high priest on the border of the city made him conscious of his own inferiority, and he instinctively bowed to the earth in humble reverence of a power higher than armies. Dogs were worshipped by the Egyptians, but held in contempt by the Jews. Plato's communistic republic was wisely rejected by Aristotle and would certainly be unsuitable for the English people at the present time, and much more so for the American. In the time of the Cæsars, Roman citizenship was a good thing to have, especially for one away from home and in trouble, but it was too exclusive; and not of the kind to form the basis of a republic like these United States.

The fundamental conditions for the coming republic, with equal rights secured to all before the law, were education and moral and social culture of the great mass of the people, and graded participation in the functions of government. To effectuate such a purpose, radical changes were essential in the prevailing ethics of the times—the relations of men to their Creator, the relations of men to each other, the relations of men to the church and to the government.

But the requisite seeds were sown in Palestine, along the banks of the Jordan, on the shores of Gennesaret, and in and about Jerusalem. The passions and brutality of men were to be supplanted by spiritual agencies. Ambition for ecclesiastical glory was to be superseded by a love of sacrifice for the poor and the needy. Ambition for civil magistracy and temporal power was to be subordinated to that patriotism and philanthropy which would die for country and for fellow man. Egoism and selfishness were in due time to yield to Altruism and charity. The word neighbor was to have a new significance; and the golden rule of doing

unto others as we would have them do unto us, was, in due course of time to be translated into equality for all men before the law, and thus to become the rock upon which the coming republic was to be founded.

But these principles were not to become dominant through arbitrary enforcement by civil or ecclesiastical power; but by voluntary acceptance through the persuasive influence of the home, the church, the school, the teachings of patriotic statesmen and social and Christian philosophers. These germinal principles in the hearts of men gradually tended to transform the civilization of Europe and the world.

To trace their operation and the several advances made would be to give in detail the history of nations, of wars and of the feudal system, the history of municipalities, the history of the corporate church with functions and revenues of its own, the history of Christianity, the history of theocracy, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy—and how the principles of each of these resisted, crossed, jostled and modified each other. Of course the advance was irregular and at times spasmodic, but when numerous centuries are contemplated as a whole, we discover that in some way the old barbarism monarchies were superseded by religious monarchies, and religious monarchies by imperial monarchies and imperial monarchies by limited or constitutional monarchies, and constitutional monarchies by oligarchies or aristocracies, and aristocracies by pure democracies, and democracies by firmly established constitutional republics.

War is always cruel, but at times it is the only way of opening the door to knowledge and breaking down the partition walls of bigotry and conceit. The crusaders found the society of Musselmén, as well as of the Greeks, in advance of their own. If the theocratic despotism of China has been weakened by the penetrating shot of the Japanese soldiers and what has since occurred, it is well.

The free corporate cities between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, in France, in Holland, in Germany and to the north, afforded the mass of the people an opportunity for participating in the functions of government. True, the great mass of the people within the walls of any city, were, comparatively, ignorant, brutal and savage, with no proper guarantee of order or continuance; and with no established government, yet each was acting under the sanction of an oath; and when magistrates were to be chosen, or important questions of local concern were to be determined, the inhabitants were all summoned to the public square by the tolling of the great bell, and the question at issue there decided by democratic vote. But classes grew up and the spirit of mob violence became furious; and more stable forms of government became necessities. The chartering of free corporate cities prevailed in England. Thus on August 28, 1207, King John granted a charter to Liverpool, whereby that city was to have the liberties and free customs of any free borough; and eight years afterwards the same were guaranteed, not only to Liverpool, but to London and other cities, by Magna Charta.

The Crown had started out as an absolute monarch. But six hundred and eighty-two years ago the 15th day of last June, the enraged people, and the great body of the nobility of England, under the command of Robert Fitz-Walter, with the flaming title of "Marshal of the Army of God, and the Holy Church," notwithstanding the Pope had taken part with the King against them, met King John with his lay and spiritual advisers at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines; and agreed upon that Magna Charta, and affixed their signatures to the same, thereby guaranteeing, among other things, the "unwritten liberties"—secured by the common law—also certain property rights—the free ingress and egress to all traders, unless openly forbidden, free writ of inquisition, as to life or limb—and, in effect, that no man should be deprived of life, liberty or property

without due process of law. As strange as it may now seem, eighteen niches between the windows in the House of Lords—the special guardian of the Crown and the Aristocracy—are occupied by the statues of the Barons who aided in extorting that Magna Charta from King John.

By the progressive constitution of that country, the powers of the Crown were, from time to time, gradually diminished; and the personal rights of the people, and the powers of Parliament—especially the House of Commons—gradually increased and strengthened. Thus, there was finally secured to Englishmen something of that individual liberty which had previously been contended for by the barbarians of Germany. Much of such progress in the British constitution has been since the American revolution; and largely by reason of the establishment of the American republic.

As all students of history are aware, the island of Britain was settled by numerous races having different habits, customs and language. The mixture of these races was necessarily followed by a commingling of thoughts, customs, manners and laws. The Roman civil and canon laws were there in advance, and prepared the way for the common law, which afterwards became dominant on the island.

Of course that law was, at first, merely traditional and fragmentary, and consisted of but little more than a rude method of settling controversies according to recognized principles of right and justice, instead of some arbitrary power. The old Anglo-Saxon law suit was not by a court and jury as now, but by all the attendant freeman of the hundred, or the county, as the case happened to be; and the trial consisted in the main of wrangle and contention.

In the early history of England, the King was the source of all power, but in due course of time Parliament was instituted and the King was required to take an oath to submit to the laws of the realm, and then courts were established, the rules of their proceedings prescribed, and their

judgments and reasons for the same entered of record for the benefit of all. The common law and its administration, as a schoolmaster and educator, is rarely comprehended and never overestimated. It probably impelled Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon to reduce to a system the inductive method of reasoning which has done so much to revolutionize the thought of the world. As the commerce of England opened up new and innumerable industries and avenues of trade, the common law, with its benign influence, kept pace with and stimulated them, and thus its dominions gradually became broadened, strengthened and purified. Undoubtedly it has been a potent factor in many of the reformations and social advances in Great Britain and America.

In this liberal age it is almost impossible to realize that only three hundred and sixty-two years ago, under the supremacy act of Parliament, in the wicked reign of Henry VIII., with church and state united, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the ablest and most pure Lord Chancellor who, up to that time, had graced the woolsack, were cruelly beheaded, because they would not proclaim that the king was the supreme head of the church.

The intolerance and religious persecutions of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in England, peopled the American colonies with much of the best blood and many of the bravest hearts of the world; and such heroes were sufficient in numbers to assimilate, modify and control those who immigrated to the colonies from other countries. As many sects arose in Europe, and especially in the island of Britain, so by reason of such intolerance, many sects settled in the American colonies. The scattered settlements along the coasts, and the weakness and dependency of each sect, tended to make them more or less respectful and tolerant of the opinions of each other; and the same facts and the strenuous efforts of men like Jefferson, saved the national government and the several states from any union of church and state; although at first, and for a few

years only, the two Carolinas, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts and New Hampshire seemed to have started on the old highway leading to the old city of destruction. The common law of England and certain acts of Parliament, as well as the rights secured to Englishmen by Magna Charta, were in force in the colonies. Accordingly, controversies were determined in the course of the common law; and, in a local way, all qualified electors were at liberty to participate in the functions of government. For the colonists, therefore, the school of experience was open from start to finish. These things, necessarily, kept up a lively interest in the current acts of Parliament and the current decisions of the English courts.

But soon after the accession to the throne of that narrow, uneducated, obstinate, and bigoted "slave of deep-rooted selfishness," George III., there appeared in the colonial skies, clouds, portentous with great events, which the wise men of the east like Chatham, Camden, Burke and Charles James Fox would gladly have prevented if they had been able. But man proposes and God disposes. The road to almost every Sinai is through some wilderness. The twelve years immediately preceding the Declaration of Independence were each and all years of serious study and contemplation for every intelligent colonist. It was not so much what the King and Parliament had done, as what they claimed the right to do; and what there was nothing in the British constitution to prevent them from doing.

Thus, in 1775, the British government, speaking through the lips of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, proclaimed the issue in these words: "My Lords, we are reduced to the alternative of adopting coercive measures, or at once submitting to a dismemberment of the empire. Consider the question in ever so many lights, every middle way will speedily lead to either of these extremities. The supremacy of the British legislature must be complete, entire and unconditional or, on the other hand, the colonies must be

free and independent. . . . Concession now is an abdication of sovereignty." These sentiments he reiterated in December, 1775, and in March, 1776. The same doctrine of absolute dominion and complete subjection had just previously been judiciously declared by the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench.

The colonists accepted the alternative and challenged the power of coercion. Independence was declared and colonial governments were dissolved. The causes which led to that declaration were so vigorously stated by that eminent statesman and illustrious friend of personal liberty, Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration itself, as to be familiar to all students of American history. And yet there are some foolish enough to believe, or pusillanimous enough to feign, that by the words, "all men are created equal," Jefferson and his compatriots meant that all men were physically equal, mentally equal, morally equal and socially equal, instead of meaning the equal protection of the personal rights of all, as now secured by our fundamental law.

Upon the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the dissolution of the colonial governments, the work of reconstruction immediately began. What should be the model? The little aristocratic republic of San Marino in the Italian mountains, had hung there like a lone star for over a thousand years; and its structure was undoubtedly studied with great care by the colonial lawyers and statesmen.

The Swiss confederation, with numerous petit states, differing, more or less, from each other, physically, religiously, politically, socially, industrially, and in language—each with almost absolute independence as to all domestic affairs, and leagued together as to foreign affairs—had long been successfully maintained; and was, therefore, of special interest.

The only other government in Europe at that time entitled to be called free, in any sense, was Great Britain,

and yet ten years before, Mansfield had publicly admitted that eight millions of people in England alone and twelve millions in England and Ireland together, were without any representation in Parliament. The events which had transpired, and were then transpiring, developed numerous brave, unselfish, able and patriotic men, of whom Washington may be regarded as the highest type, who studied and labored for the coming republic; and through its ultimate efficiency, for the benefaction of the race.

The framers of the constitution of the several thirteen newly created states were not only free to study the structure of the three governments mentioned, but to gather political wisdom from Palestine, Greece, Rome, France, Holland, Germany and other nations. The result was that the several constitutions and governments of the respective states differed more or less from each other. Thus Rhode Island organized a state government with unlimited powers, under its old royal charter granted by Charles II. Connecticut did the same, but adopted a short bill of rights. For twelve years Georgia was under a constitution which authorized but one representative body; and that body selected a governor and an executive council from its own members. For fourteen years the legislative power of Pennsylvania was vested in one body, and the executive power in another. But the other states severally created state governments with three separate departments—legislative, executive and judicial, more or less independent of each other—with the legislative department divided into two houses, each having a check upon the other and each responsible for the laws; and the executive with his veto, having a check upon both, with certain limitations upon each department and officer, and certain rights secured to all by written constitutions which could not be changed or modified except by the people acting in their sovereign capacity. Such written constitutions were the best ever devised by men up to that

date. As a rule they embodied and thus made permanent most of the safeguards and guarantees contained in the Magna Charta of the mother country, but unfortunately some of them omitted that provision which would have abolished slavery within their borders.

The war which followed the Declaration of Independence, and the weakness of the respective states, made the old Article of Independence, similar to the Swiss confederation, a necessity—as a league for defense and offense against the common enemy. But as soon as the imminent danger passed, the confederation was found to be a humiliating failure. After eleven years experience with thirteen separate and independent states or petit republics, the desire for a more perfect union—commercially and otherwise—became quite common, and so the original constitution of the United States was framed and submitted to the people of the respective states; and finally ratified by them in state conventions called for that purpose. In the discussions leading up to the formation of the constitution, there were two extreme views contended for. The one favored a consolidated nationality, in which the states would be mere subordinate dependencies. The other only favored such a confederation or union as would leave the respective states, as independent sovereignties with the power in each of withdrawing at pleasure.

Fortunately for this country and the world, the conservative judgment of the wise men of that day prevailed, and the extreme views mentioned were rejected, and a middle course was pursued. So it happened that the framers of the original constitution, encouraged by the successful experiments of the several state governments, ventured to create, for the first time in the history of the world, a new and dual system of government for the people of the United States, with certain powers expressly named, delegated to the national government, together with such incidental or

implied powers as were necessary or convenient to carry into execution the great substantive powers thus expressly granted, and which powers were largely exclusive, and to that extent abridgements upon the powers of the respective states, and with certain limitations upon the powers thus granted to the federal government, and certain prohibitions against the exercise of certain powers by the United States, or any of the states—in order that the private rights of the citizen in such matters should be protected against all arbitrary power; but otherwise leaving with the respective states all powers not so exclusively granted, nor abridged nor prohibited.

Of course there was furious opposition to the adoption of the original constitution. Some fifteen of the delegates in the convention, including Patrick Henry, either left in disgust or refused to sign the instrument. The eighty-five able articles from Jay, Madison and Hamilton in the *Federalist* indicate something of the anxiety of its friends to secure its ratification by the people of the respective states; and probably it would not have been ratified at all had not promises been made for certain amendments, ten of which were proposed by the first Congress and ratified as early as 1791. The general sentiment of the time is fairly indicated by the fact that those ten amendments, as they now stand in the constitution, are each and all limitations upon the powers, or rather what were then supposed to be the powers of the federal government; and were mostly for the protection of the citizens against its arbitrary powers; and none of them were limitations or prohibitions upon the powers of the respective states, but on the contrary, emphasized the reservation of powers “to the states respectively, or to the people.”

Dissatisfaction having arisen because the original constitution authorized a private citizen to sue a sovereign state in a federal court without its consent, the eleventh

amendment took away the right in 1798. To prevent a repetition of the disreputable effort of Aaron Burr to supplant his own associate upon the ticket, Thomas Jefferson, for the presidency, the twelfth amendment was adopted in 1804.

But our Magna Charta was incomplete while men, women and children could be bought and sold on the public markets, not only in half the states of the Union, but in the District of Columbia, and under the dicta of five of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, after holding that they had no jurisdiction, in the Dred Scott case, in all the territories as well. But the crowning glories of American citizenship, through the necessities of the war, at last, came in the form of three constitutional amendments, the thirteenth, adopted in 1865, the fourteenth in 1868, and the fifteenth in 1870, during Grant's first term as President. By these three amendments slavery and involuntary servitude were abolished throughout the land; the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens were defined, and the respective states expressly prohibited from abridging any of them; and it was therein expressly declared, that no state should "deprive any persons of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." This includes, and is an improvement upon that great personal guarantee, wrung from an arbitrary king more than six hundred and eighty-two years ago, and by the fifth amendment applied to our national government, one hundred and six years ago; but which some of the state constitutions wholly omitted, or limited to certain classes.

What figures can indicate—what language can express—the expenditure of blood and treasure to secure such grand consummations! To the great and good men who devised and executed and preserved, be the praise.

As some of the most useful inventions consist of a new combination of old elements, so while our dual system of State and national governments embrace many elements

that are old, yet some of the elements are new, and the combination is entirely new, and hence, was patentable. In no other government are the rights of the people so thoroughly guarded. In no other system does so large a per cent. of the people participate in the functions of government; and, hence, it is highly educational, both mentally and morally. True, it is well calculated to stimulate controversy; but that, necessarily, stimulates study, thought, discrimination and the reasoning faculties—and all those things tend to higher citizenship.

One of the tests by which the comparative efficiency of government and the contentment of their citizens may be determined, is the amount of military force required in each in time of peace, to preserve order and enforce the laws. Astounding as it may seem to us as American citizens, Italy, with a population of less than thirty-seven millions, has a standing army of officers and men of 258,632. France, with a population of thirty-nine millions, has a standing army of 549,694 at home. Austria and Hungary, with a population of less than forty-eight millions, has a standing army of 321,549. Germany, with a population of over sixty millions, has a standing army of 629,508. Russia, with a population of one hundred and forty-three millions, has a standing army of 806,500. Great Britain and Ireland are more isolated and since the suffrage act of 1885, the elective franchise has been nearly as general as here, yet with a population of less than forty-two millions, they have a standing army of 253,590 at home, and a still greater number abroad.

In broad contrast with all these nationalities, the United States, with a population of more than eighty-four millions, has a standing army of only 62,516. A large portion of these, before the acquisition of our colonial properties, have been employed in keeping the Indians in subjection, and another large portion in protecting our own citizens from the savagery of the mob—mostly composed of immigrants,

who have never become naturalized, and who know nothing and care nothing about the genius or purpose of our dual system of government—led on by those who have been “irreconcilables” in continental Europe—making war upon all existing forms of government. Such irreconcilables, like anarchists, are worse than the Pharisees, for they neither render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, nor unto God the things that are God’s. Thus, in this country, obedience to the law, when authoritatively ascertained by our own citizens, is nearly what it should be—spontaneous. Of course the frequency, the size and the successful organization of mobs necessitates standing armies of more or less magnitude, and the cost of such armies stimulates discontent.

Every mob has a supposed grievance. Some mobs have a real grievance; but even then the remedy is worse than the disease. A common mob commits a riot. A rebellious mob commits high treason. To incite or encourage a mob is to incite or encourage riot or treason. To stimulate anarchy is to discourage patriotism and to encourage lawlessness, mob rule and revolution. “Irreconcilables” in governmental affairs, like irreconcilables in religion, are generally the promoters of strife and discord, rather than piety and patriotism.

The most dangerous revolutionists are those who loudly profess loyalty to an existing government and sympathetic devotion to some species of suffering, and thereby secure power through popular suffrage, and then traitorously use the power so obtained to wholly or partially overthrow the government they professed to love. Such revolutionists are mostly brooded and nurtured in the old world, and in the oligarchies of South America, which for many years have masqueraded as republics. Such men are occasionally found in our own country, applying their deceptive arts with the enthusiasm of new converts or original inventors—even to the extent of destroying those personal rights secured by

the fundamental law—as for instance, personal liberty, the sacredness of contracts, the right to acquire property or to hold it after it has been acquired.

In the language of Mr. Finch, for many years an able judge of New York, back of ownership, “there was nothing but force—the brutal brawn of the stronger—the spear and club of the chief—superior only by means of tougher muscle and uglier will. . . . But out of all this darkness, slowly and painfully emerged the idea of ownership as a right of the individual”—ownership of “everything which is most precious to a man may depend upon this question: his property, his liberty, his honor and even his life.” In an address before the New York Bar Association, that eminent jurist, John F. Dillon, is equally emphatic along the same lines, and declares, that any “denial of the right of private property, or of its full enjoyment, is radically pernicious, or Utopian.”

The trend of the decisions in the American courts are all in the same direction. The right to liberty and property secured by the fundamental law includes the right to make and enforce contracts for the acquisition of property. To destroy the rights thus secured, would be to turn the wheels of civilization backward for centuries. The frequent holding up, robbing and wrecking of railroad trains, freighted with precious lives, as well as property, and the organized combinations which enable the few to enrich themselves by oppressing the many, or which compel men against their will to break their contracts with others, induce the repetition of the remark that “philanthropy was overdone and justice underdone.”

The irreconcilables, the anarchists and the revolutionists mentioned may be exceedingly dangerous in a country where the constitution is no more binding than a mere statute, and may be overturned by a single body of men, elected at the same time by a single surge of popular excite-

ment. Such fear of revolution seems to have been an element in an election in Great Britain in the time of Gladstone; and so that statesman explained, that he is not conscious of ever having expressed an opinion favoring the abolition of the House of Lords.

But with us, the fundamental law can only be overturned or modified by successive votes of numerous bodies composed of members elected at different times and in numerous districts or sections; and hence, if an enemy of the state or nation gets into office, and thus exposes his real character, he is quite sure to be relegated to private life before he has destroyed or permanently injured the perpetuity of the government. And yet, if there is any danger to our republic, it is along these lines; and hence, the same should be counteracted by the restriction of immigration to those who are likely to become American citizens, by educating the rising generations—by social and moral culture—stimulated by the good and patriotic along all the avenues of thought.

Of course our fundamental law may be improved by its friends—here a little and there a little—but its enemies should never be allowed to meddle with it. It may be asked, however, is there no work for the reformer? Certainly, there is room for all legitimate reforms. Civilization has not reached its maximum; and society has not reached perfection. Ignorance, avarice, envy, ambition, intemperance, passion, jealousy, brutality, revenge, and the different forms of vice, have not yet ceased to be disturbing elements. Undoubtedly grave wrongs are committed every day in the year and in every State in the Union—not so much for want of laws, as for the want of the prosecution of laws. But the broad discretion vested in legislative bodies enables them, within constitutional limits, to shape all matters of policy—domestic, interstate and international. The broad discretion vested in all executive, administrative and muni-

cial officers furnishes abundant opportunity for experiment and improvement.

Such are some of the outlines of that dual system of government known as the American republic; and some of the steps which led to its establishment, and to the completion of its great fundamental charter. It was evolved from the experience of the ages. It was conceived by those who had graduated in the schools of adversity and necessity. It was, under the guidance of Providence, fashioned by the most unselfish, brave, patriotic, magnanimous and wise band of compatriots that ever attempted such an undertaking; and, all things considered, they accomplished their purpose under the most favorable circumstances. While slavery has always been abhorrent to a very large portion of American citizens, and now, it is hoped, to all, yet in view of the events of the last hundred years it would seem that Providence used the influence of the institution, as he did the influence of wicked rulers in other times and in other countries, to acquire territories for the purpose of ultimately establishing thereon better governments. Thus Florida was acquired from Spain. The great Louisiana purchase was acquired from France, extending, as it did, from the mouth to the source of the Mississippi, and far to the westward. So Texas and California and the vast territories west of the Louisiana purchase and south of what is now Oregon, were obtained. The aggregate area of the territories thus acquired is far greater than the entire dominions of the United States a hundred years ago. Thus, the home missionaries, in the schools of American citizenship and patriotic advancement, have field for aggressive enterprise, which, otherwise, would never have existed.

But the republic of Grant, Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley is far superior to the republic of Washington, Jackson and Buchanan. Half an hour while waiting alone for a train at midnight and in winter, is long enough. Fifty

centuries were none too long for Providence, acting through human agencies, to produce a republic as imperfect as ours was in the beginning, and still another century to produce what we now behold. Attempts to get ahead of Providence are always foolish, and generally end in retrogression rather than advancement. The Jewish king who could not bear the thought of being killed by a woman in battle, foolishly ordered his own death by his own men. It is always dangerous to get in front of God's chariots, or to obstruct his pathway. Napoleon tried it and woke up on St. Helena. Jefferson Davis and his coadjutors attempted the same feat, but the result was failure. All attempts to supplant the individualism, incident to our form of government, by a stupendous paternalism, are but subtle attempts to supplant our democratic republic by a theocratic or imperial monarchy.

It may be that in some climates and some nationalities where ignorance is almost universal, mature and healthy men should be treated as babes in the woods, but in this free land, they should rather be treated as stalwarts on the hills—in the valleys—on the plains—in the mountains. Even the blind may properly be required to go down into the water as a condition of restored sight. The glasses which reveal nothing wrong or bad in this republic may be defective; but the glasses which reveal everything in the government of this country as inferior to the governments of the old world, are not only defective, but inverted. Some kind-hearted, but narrow minded men—like the “worldly” or the so-called “wise men” mentioned by Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge*—make everything they see or hear “reflect the only images their minds contain.”

Providence generally moves along natural, conservative and practical lines. The earthquake and the cyclone—the saving of Jonah and the raising of Lazarus—may be exceptions. Every man should have a firm grasp upon something permanent and above himself, before he attempts to walk

on the water. The important question is not how most effectually to govern—control men, but what kind of government will best stimulate men to govern themselves, to develop the largest per cent. of noble manhood—character—the highest type of citizenship. A government should be a sort of moral and intellectual gymnasium, where all may have an opportunity for exercise with the least injury to any and the greatest good to all. The chief glory of the founders of the republic is in the fact that they were willing to co-operate with Providence in the establishment of a national government for national purposes, and, as indicated in James Madison's letter of submission, to that end yield and forego all minor considerations, even to the extent of allowing to the respective states the power to continue or abolish slavery. The chief glory of Lincoln's administration consists in the fact that he was at all times controlled by a purpose to co-operate with Providence in saving the Union—as, in effect, expressed in his letter to Horace Greeley, only thirty days before his proclamation of conditional emancipation—his "paramount object" was "to save the Union"—whether his efforts in doing so resulted in saving or destroying slavery. The chief glory of this republic consists in the fact that, in contradistinction to governments of arbitrary will and despotic power, this is a government based upon fundamental and practically unalterable laws, as indicated, wherein no officials, no body of officials, no combination of individuals, are above the laws, but each and all are alike subject and answerable to the laws.

The duration of this dual system of government depends not only upon the wisdom, integrity and virtue of those who make and administer the laws, but in the wisdom, integrity and virtue of those who elect the men who thus make and administer the laws. With a free ballot based on manhood suffrage, with free schools for the children of the rich and poor alike, with all churches and all religious institutions

entirely independent and free from governmental control, and yet each and all protected in the free exercise of their legitimate functions by the strong arm of the law, with the freedom of speech and the press guaranteed, subject only to responsibility for abuses, with liberty properly regulated by laws, and the laws impartially enforced without any discrimination, with the common rights of all men equally protected against all encroachments from arbitrary power, with all class distinctions and titles of nobility prohibited, the American republic must in due time become, if it is not already, the guiding star of the world, and by its benign influence regenerate, reform and transform all other nationalities into its own likeness.

REVOLUTION LETTERS

FROM UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

MRS JANE MECOM TO SARAH BACHE

Communicated by William Duane

[The following letter, which is without date, appears from some of the matters mentioned in it to have been written in the fall of the year 1779, at Warwick, R. I.]

DEAR NIECE. Your favor of August 18th gave me much pleasure to hear that you and your family were well and that such a friendly intercourse is kept up between you and the very worthy family of Mr. Duffield. I should have been proud to have seen the gentleman you would have introduced to me and would have shown all the civilities in my power; but the letters were brought to me by an accidental hand, with his name erased on the outside, and no message or intimation where he might be found: perhaps he came no farther than Newport. But though I am pleased with this, it does not give the satisfaction I wish: near relations as you and I should write more constantly. I want to know a thousand little particulars about yourself and husband and the children, such as your mother used to write to me; and though I readily excuse your not writing more at this time, I cannot so easily excuse your long silence, who have it always in your power to send letters without trouble or expense: it would be next to seeing the little things, or hearing some of their prattle (speeches if you please) and have you describe their persons and actions, telling me whom they look like, &c. I suppose by this time Betsey gives you great entertainment, and Louis as much as

he can: *he*, I say, for the first idea I had when I saw the name was that it was given in respect to the French king; but I am since told that Louis is a proper name for a woman, so I am at a loss to know whether your last is a son or a daughter.

I have, as you suppose, heard of your ladies' noble and generous subscription for the army and honour them for it, and, if a hearty good will in me would effect it, would follow your example; but I fear what my influence would procure would be so diminutive we should be ashamed to offer it. I live in an obscure place, have but little acquaintance, and those not very rich; but you may say a mite has been accepted and may be again, but that was a time when there was more religion and less pride. I really believe our friend Mrs. Greene would be as forward to set the example here as any of your ladies, had she the power, but her family have suffered extremely in their fortune by the depreciation: several of their farms were let on lease, and [they] had the paper money tendered to them and could not help themselves: great part of their interest lay in Block Island, where they could get nothing, as the person has proved dishonest and poor, and a debt he had contracted in paper money, the creditor living in Newport, where he could not get at him to discharge it, and now the Britons having left it, insists on silver and the Govr has paid it; I forget whether it was Four Thousand Pounds or Four Thousand Dollars, but either is a great sum in silver at this day.

I am greatly disappointed at not hearing from my brother by this fleet that is come. I had a short line dated the 5th of March, informing me that he was well and would write more largely by the Alliance, which would sail in a few days, but after waiting all summer the Alliance brings me no letter; and there has been an infamous fellow (I will call him) here endeavoring to traduce your father's character in all companies; and we hear he did the same in all the taverns as he went along; I suppose you have had

him at Philadelphia, for he pretended to go full freighted with accusations to Congress against Dr. Franklin with very strong vouchers: it was one Izard, brother in law to Lee, who came in the Alliance; and it is not improbable, bribed the men on board to run off with the ship without my brother's dispatches, expecting they would not be to his (Lee's) honour. It all appears mysterious: I wish you would clear it up to me.

You may think when you have got thus far, it is time to close, but I must tell you that I have a great-grand-daughter Sally, eighteen months' old, that will equal any one of yours for understanding and pretty diverting actions, at least I think so; and we have now a fine lusty fellow we have named Franklin, five weeks old who bids fair to equal Will, in bulk at least, if not in intellect. His mother fattens him too fast to be very strong herself, but she has been much better this time than usual, owing, we think, to her having more skilful help at first. She desires her love to you.

I have omitted answering your letter sooner, to have time to write to my daughter Mecom with it, but really cannot now. You cannot imagine how busy I am. I write this by candle-light. Be so good as to tell her, if you see her or either of her children that I had been at Boston to see Jenny, and found her grown a woman well and hearty and well contented. She came to town and stayed a day and a night with us; said she would soon write well enough to write to me and her mother, and I was to convey the letter through Mr. Bache's hands, who, I know, would favour me so much: but I have written to her since I came home, but got no answer, which was one reason of my delaying; but I know she is well or cousin Williams would have informed me. Present my respects and compliments to all who may inquire after. Your affectionate aunt, JANE MECOM

COL WILLIAM SMITH TO COLONEL SAMUEL B. WEBB

Communicated by James E. Maura

I

Head Quarters Feb 18th 1781 DR SAML Upon my arrival at Morris Town I found Letters from His Excellency and the Marquis the contents of which rendered it necessary that I should set off immediately for Camp and deprived me of the promised pleasure of visiting Your *family* as I intended but as I am the person disappointed I conclude an apology to you is in some measure unnecessary therefore—

I am informed that the arrangement's of your line is returned to have some alterations made, if I could get my name enroll'd I should be happy & as I must consider myself as a member of the State I think my pretensions not slightly founded.

There is a Lt Col Johnston in your Line who I am informed wishes for an opportunity to retire, I should be happy to give it him by taking his place in the Line it can injure none of the inferior officers and the superior I flatter myself would have no objections I am told they have conversed upon this subject & no objections were stated except by Lt Colo Grey his reasons I am not acquainted with therefore cannot give my sentiments upon them but am a little dubious whether they will stand a strict scrutiny if any should refer to its being a precedent that might hereafter prove injurious, that may be easily obviated as there is no Genl at present in the Army in a similar situation but I mean to enter upon no other Consideration than by a unanimous consent of the field officers it will be setting an example that will in my opinion rather be of service than otherwise. I intended to have waited on you this morning but am detain'd in order to join the Marquis &c

If you will inform me after consulting on the subject

how matters stand I shall acknowledge myself obliged
Laurels and Life attend you is the wish of

WM S. SMITH & C

Colo SAML B WEBB

Connecticut Line

II

Head Quarters July 16th 1781 MY DEAR SAM I have spoke to His Excellency agreeable to your request, and have obtained with great difficulty permission for you to visit your amiable connections on the banks of the Raritan nothing my friend but the particular situation of Mrs. Webb (which I painted in as lively colours as I am capable) could possibly have induced the General to comply with the request; He considers his Character as well as yours in some measure at stake and therefore requests you will not exceed the period you mention to me. Tell the good ladies when you leave them that they must not expect to see you again untill the end of the campaign & remember me to them *separately* and collectively as particularly as you think proper & accept of the assurances of friendship from

WM S SMITH

A D CAMP

Colo SAMUEL B. WEBB

Connecticut Line

BRIG GENERAL CLINTON TO LT COL COCHRANE

Communicated by C. E. Van Cortlandt

Albany May 22d 1781. SIR. My Express has returned from Head Quarters, I have thought proper to abandon Fort Schuyler, you will therefore immediately on receipt hereof convey down the Magazine Stores &c with all possible dispatch to Fort Herkimer, demolish the Works—march down the Garrison and take post at Fort Herkimer, I have

ordered Col. Cortlandt to return with his Boats, who will give you all the assistance in his power. I suppose the boats will not be able to convey the stores all at one trip they must therefore continue untill they have completed the evacuation. The most valuable stores you'll send off first, with some of the Provision, the remainder keep untill the last. I shall order up some Tents and advise Posts to be taken on Frank's Hill on the South side of the River, whence I should recommend works to be thrown up and cannon mounted as there will be a quantity of ammunition. I wish you to send down some of that together with the most valuable Artillery to Schenectady untill the works can be made tenable as I have reason to apprehend the Enemy will make an invasion on our frontier perhaps both from the West and North. After you have removed the stores, you will make an entire demolishment of the Works march the Garrison to Fort Herkimer, as first directed and wait further Orders. The Entrenching tools you had better send down by the first Boats, I am, Sir yours JAMES CLINTON. B G.

LIEUT COL COCHRAN

GEN. JOHN STARK TO COL WALLBRIDGE

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Head Quarters Saratoga 26, Sept. 1781 DEAR SIR I now send my flagg to Canada and shall be glad if you will assist them with a boat, and should Captain Hickok who has the Command of the flag need any assistance I shall take it a favour if you will supply him with any thing in the Compass of your power. Yesterday morning three of the militia of this Neighbourhood took and brought into Camp five Tories that came lately from Canada. They had rifles of a similar nature to those taken at Remington's I am Dear Sir your most obdt and very Hble Servant JOHN STARK

COL WALLBRIDGE

Skeensborough

RICHARD OSWALD TO LORDS STONNARD AND HILLSBOROUGH

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Fenchurch Street [London] 19th Decemb 1781 MY LORD. I beg leave to inform your Lo'ps that I have of late received Sundry Messages from Mr. Laurens, now a Prisoner in the Tower, requesting that an Application may be made to His Majesty's Ministers for a Permission of his being allowed to go to Bath upon his Parole, for the recovery of his health; which has been upon the decline for some considerable time; & I am assured by his Physician is now in a painful and dangerous State. Mr Laurens at same time promises that in case this Indulgence is granted him he will immediately deliver himself as a Prisoner when called upon. I take the liberty also to inform Your Lo'ps that Mr Laurens declares he is perswaded that upon my Lord Cornwallis's return to England, he will bring along with him an agreement from the American Congress that His Lo'ps Parole shall be discharged upon the Liberations of him Mr Laurens. This he hopes may happen soon; otherwise he would apply to Doctr Franklyn at Paris, in expectation that he may possibly have a power from the Congress to make an Exchange of Prisoners. But as there may be an uncertainty in that, Mr Laurens Intrusts it to your Lo'ps humanity whether, in the mean time, this temporary relief may not be granted him, in expectation of His Lord Cornwallis bringing an order for the discharge of His Ld'ps Parole— Or failing of that in the present time, that he Mr Laurens, shall oblige himself in writings if required, that without loss of time, he shall use all the means in his power to obtain such order from the American Congress; or from Doctr Franklyn, in case he is in possession of an authority to that purpose from that Assembly I have the honor to be My Lords Your Lo'ps most obedient humble Servant

RICHARD OSWALD

SAMUEL ADAMS TO GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmett

Boston May 2. 1783 MY DEAR SIR Our Friend Colo John Allan takes the Care of this Letter and will deliver it to you. The War being finished, he is going to Philadelphia to receive such Directions as Congress shall think proper to give to him. You remember he was appointed in 77, Agent of the St John's and Nova Scotia Indians, and he has since commanded an Artillery Company raised by this State for the Defence of the Post at Machias adopted by Congress in Feb 81 and cloath'd subsisted & paid as other officers & soldiers of the United States. He has I doubt not executed the Trusts reposed in him with Fidelity and I think is entitled to the Emoluments given to officers of his Rank. I have given him a Letter to the Secretary of War & Your Recommendation first gain'd him the Confidence of Congress, and your repeated Favor will still be a substantial advantage to him. I most heartily congratulate you on the Return of Peace with Liberty & Independence. Blessings for which Patriots have toiled & Heroes fought & bled. Our Country may now be happy if she is not wanting to herself. We have done our Duty. Future Generations can never curse the present for carelessly surrendering their Rights. I beg you, my Friend not to impute my long silence to a faulty Cause. If you believe me to be advocate of Truth, be assured that I have constantly participated with you in good & ill Fortune. I shall ever rejoice that you was honor'd by Providence, in capturing Burgoyne and his whole Army— An Event which wrought the most happy Change in the Face of our Affairs in Europe and which alone, in Spite of Envy, will give you a brilliant Page in History. Mr Yancey is gone to South Carolina. I have written by him to my old Patriotick friend Gadsden and the stronger to enforce my Recommendation of Mr Yancey have mention'd him as one whom you regard. Oblige me

with your Letter for I am sincerely and affectionately Your
Friend & very humble Servant

SAML ADAMS

HENRY TEN EYCK TO COLONEL GLEN

Communicated by C. E. Van Cortland from the Glen Papers

West Point May 16. 1783 DEAR FRIEND To begin this letter permit me to Complain and that with the greatest foundation— When we parted you promised to write me by every Opportunity, I informed you that singal letters to an officer where subject to no postage—besides vessals sail every day from Albany and must stop at the Garrison. Yet I have not had a singal word from you. However I expect you have not quite forgot me but waite for a letter with Patience.

Genl Washington arrived yesterday [Thursday May 15] from Tappan where he & the Governor has had a conference with Sir Guy— Col Turnbull Gave me a little detail of the meeting— he Informs me that Sir Guy greatly resembles His Excellency Genl Washington—sedate—does not Talk a great deal—his countainance appears Sensible and very expressive— on Thursday last [Thursday May 8] they dined on board of Sir Guy's Sloop of War. They were saluted at their arrival with the firing of a number of Cannon—when they left the Sloop she fired seventeen cannon— Sir Guy was taken very sick just before dinner with a fit of the Ager— The British now set Premiums upon every kind of Emerican Exports— Sir Guy will leave New York as soon as possible he can—he daily expects Transports for that Purpose from England—Genl Washington's escort consisted of five Companies of Light Infantry Commanded by your Old Friend Major Fish—and a small Party of horse—his Excellency went down in His Barg—a Sloop attend him which had on board his Baggage, Coach. Table Furniture &c &c—

The officers of the Army are now upon a plan to form

a meeting of friends. This meeting to consist of all officers who have served with reputation 3 Years and Upwards. Count Reshamboult and his Officers—am busy to Coppy the whole to send you—this hint must be sufficient till It is finished—excuse all errors—am in a great Hurry—if you write me order the letters to be left at the ferry Guard at West Point, for Vessels must stop at this Guard—before they can Pass—it is kept by our Regt Adieu My Friend

HENRY TEN EYCK

COLO GLEN COMMANDING

THE ONIDA CORPS

P. S. Three Commissioners are appointed to superintend the British Embarkation— Egbert Benson is one of them

H. T. E.

THE AGONY OF AN EMPIRE

BY C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON, B. A.

IN THE matter of the duration of the Roman Empire there is large field for discussion, more particularly about its exact entity, and the precise date of its final collapse.

The Roman Empire was divided in 395 A. D. into the dominions of the Western and the Eastern Caesars. Thus there were two Sovereigns in fact: while in theory there continued to be but one Empire. The existence of the Western division terminated in 476 A. D., when Odoacer deposed the Emperor Romulus (called derisively Augustulus) and affected to recognize the Byzantine Caesar as sole Emperor: but the original Roman Empire continued through an unbroken succession of Porphyrogeniti or usurping Emperors, growing ever more and more Greek until 1204 when a buccaneering expedition of Frankish filibusters drove the Greek-speaking Basileys out of his capital and established by force of arms a Western Prince whom they styled Emperor of Romania. The genuine Empire subsisted for a time at Nikaia; then when the Latin Monarchy had exhausted itself in the fatuous futility of Feudalism it reappeared in Byzantion, where with great vitality it lasted until the fatal 29th May, 1453, which inaugurated the rule of the Turkish Padishahs. This is usually allowed to be the end of the Eastern division of the Roman Empire. There still however reigned at Trebizonde a Prince, equally Greek, of the once imperial House of Komnenos whose style was Faithful Emperor (Basileys) of all the East. How far was he the true successor of Augustus? At any rate he also perished in 1461.

In the West, towards the end of the 8th century, there had arisen an aspirant for the Imperial Office who was not unworthy of the post, even when measured according to its best traditions. An opportunity for the revival of the Western Empire was found in the fact that the Basilisca Eirene ruled in Byzantium. The Roman sceptre was too sacred and too heavy for a woman; so said Western jurists and King Karl was crowned Charles most Pacific Emperor of the Romans and thereby the duality of the Empire was restored.

This revival of the Western Empire existed for a little over a century. The Karling House after Charlemagne had degenerated with amazing rapidity and with it the Empire, which faded into nothingness before the first decade of the 10th century, after a series of rulers each more helpless than his predecessors. The Empire was dead or dormant for half a century.

It is in the difference between death and dormancy that lies a ground for doubting the authenticity of the Ottonian revival. Was the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation of which the Imperial diadem first decorated the brows of Otto I (the Great), a continuation of the Augustan or of the Karling Empire, or of both, or neither? If one look at the H. R. E. as it was before its final collapse just a century ago, the answer is—neither. If one regard the enumeration of its sovereigns he is convinced that it considered itself to be a continuation of the Karling Monarchy: e. g. the Kaiser Karl III 1347-1355-1378 was a successor to the Kaiser Karl III 881-888.

Duke Philip of Swabia as Elect-Emperor is said to have been mindful of the Emperor Philip the Arabian who ruled in Rome "in the thousandth year of the City" (244-249 A. D.) and to have considered himself Philip II in consequence. This would point to a consciousness of Augustan continuity, but unfortunately the Swabian was never crowned. Again, the Sovereigns of the H. R. E. claimed

that their title after coronation was no less than "Caesar, Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, mundi totius Dominus, universis dominis universis principibus et populis semper venerandus:" Does not this seem to be an attempt to make up for an invalidity of real title by excessive protestation of imperiality?

The Flavians were content to be Princeps, they were Augustus—but not perpetually so by proclamation—they were Imperator—but solely and simply in a military or proconsular sense. They were Pontifex Maximus; a dignity and a power lacking to the Teutonic titularies. They were Tribune; an office unimaginable to a Feudal minded German, Above all the Roman Emperor was master of the world from the moment that the Pretorians or his legions had coupled his praenomen with the affix of Augustus: while the German had to obtain papal approval by a journey to Rome before he could be more than Elect-Emperor; a designation meaningless to a Trajan or even an Olybrius.

Thus one is compelled to acknowledge that the H. R. E. was a Pope-made imitation of an older, but in the West at least an extinct institution; limited, Petrified, Teutonized and overburthened with titles to suit the taste of the time. As Gibson said "It was in fact the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the tomb thereof." Its conception was grand, its ideal magnificent: The Empire was to be a lay Papacy. As were Bishops to Peter so were Kings to be to Caesar. Catholic and Imperial to be synonymous terms of individual and peculiar application. As all Christian men were to find refuge in the spiritual shadow of Peter's rock, so were they to be covered by the temporal folds of the Imperial purple. There was only one objection; one flaw in this grandiose scheme. All Christian men were to be spiritual subjects of St. Peter. Caesar had to be a Christian man, therefore a subject. Sometimes Caesar, sometimes the Pope rebelled.

At last the Pope said firmly "No man is Emperor until he shall have been crowned by Us"¹—the result being that from 982-1806, or during a period of eight and a half centuries, there was a full H. R. Emperor during only 430 years, and for nearly half of the existence of the Holy Roman Empire it had to be content with the headship of an Elect-Emperor, or be torn to pieces by the disputes of persons who desired the title. After 1558 no crowned Emperor ever reigned; and although the Elect-Emperor Maximilian I, by a *motu proprio* issued from Trent in 1508, assumed the full Imperial style and title, one cannot but remember that his successors who followed his uncrowned example were really only kings of Germany in addition to their hereditary titles, and lacked the prestige as well as the unction of the Holy Roman crown.

And so we come to the Holy Roman Empire itself—not its setting forth or pretentious superimposed eagles looking east and west to inform the world at large that "We are August"—but its great territorial extent, its actualities, upon which man might tread solidly after catching at a succession of vain titles. "The glories of our blood and state are fickle not substantial things." But the Territorial Empire was almost as unsubstantial as the Titular Empire. Nor could it be otherwise when its nominal vassals warred

¹By way of comment on this Papal dictum it may be well to add that Kaiser Otto the Great at his coronation at Rome, 2 Feb. 963, decreed that no Pope might be consecrated before He should have sworn allegiance to the Emperor as His sovereign, either to the Imperial person, or to his representative. The result was that for the next eighty years the Papacy was little more than an ecclesiastical agency of the German Sovereigns in Rome, which they treated at their pleasure. To such an extent was the Sec of Peter under Teutonic tutelage, that no less than six Popes were deposed by successive Caesars, & a similar number nominated for instant election.

Deposed.		Nominated.	
JOHN. PP. XII.	Nov. 963.	LEO. PP. VIII.	963.
BENEDICT. PP. V.	June. 964.	BENEDICT. PP. VI.	972.
JOHN. PP. XVI.	998.	BENEDICT. PP. VII.	974.
GREGORY. PP. V.	999.	JOHN. PP. XIII.	983.
BENEDICT. PP. VIII.	1046.	GREGORY. PP. V.	996.
GREGORY. PP. VI.	1046.	Sylvester. PP. II.	999.

freely among themselves and even cherished not infrequent alliances against their Sovereign himself and Feudal Lord, even though at times he styled himself King and Lord of every single European realm, duchy, county or other sovereignty nominatim. (Frederick III). The Holy Roman Empire as it stood in 1792 was an inchoate mass vividly particularist in detail. The German people were divided under two hundred and twenty-five distinct actual allegiances (two hundred and seventy-six titular) which were of sufficient importance to be represented in the Diet of the Empire. This excessive number was further increased by those due to certain villages (eight in number) and a considerable list of Knights of the Empire. While the practices of the Reich were destructive to any hope of united action against a common foe, or even to any idea of a Germany as a political or military entity, the Theory at least was that every state of the Empire should contribute men to the Imperial Chamber (Law Courts) at Wetzlar. These contributions (Reichskammerzieler) were regulated by the Estates of the Circles (Kreis) which were convoked by the Directors of each.

The geographical areas were arranged strictly with a view to historical or genealogical continuity, and not in the least on any lines of administrative unity, or even reasonable centralization of territory or communicational convenience.

The Estates of the Circle were expected to enforce the decisions (Reichskammergericht) of the Imperial Chamber at Wetzlar, and were responsible for the money coined under their jurisdiction; that it should maintain the Imperial standard of weight and fineness. The circles were the outcome of an endeavor, made in 1500, to provide The Empire with a real governing body. This scheme was that the Emperor should be assisted by a single-chamber legislature, the Reichsrath, presided over by himself, and composed partly of representatives *ex officio*, such as the Elec-

tors of the Empire, partly of delegates elected, one by each Circle. This body was to maintain the internal peace of the realm, and to enforce the Reichskammergerichten. It never came to anything in itself, but the Circles (raised to the number of ten in 1512) which had been designed solely as electoral bodies, usurped some of the functions of the otherwise non-existent Reichsrath and existed with considerable vigour until the end in 1806.

The Holy Roman Empire, as it stood in 1792 was a monumental example of ungrasped opportunities, possibilities, and ideals, weighed down by the localism of the petty states. Every suggestion of possible national advantage was gladly sacrificed for an infinitesimal gain to one of the minor dynasties; families which were creeping up the scale of rank from squiredom to kingdom,—families which a Holy Roman Bismark would have severely mediatized as the only hope for national unity. The non-success of the reforms of 1500 left the government of the Reich in the hands of the Imperial Diet, an amazing body which by 1792 had changed only slightly.²

This body constituted after the civil wars of 1201-1208, to represent the whole Empire, was entrusted with the duty of electing the Emperor, an extremely lucrative function, as it was not esteemed simoniacal to purchase the vote of an Elector. The Emperor could create a fresh electorate. This was done in 1648, in favour of the Palatinate, which

(2) It was divided into three Houses of which the first was

House of Prince-Electors

1. The ARCHBISHOP of MAINZ.
2. The ARCHBISHOP of COLN.
3. The ARCHBISHOP of TRIER.
4. The KING of BOHEMIA. (The ELECT-EMPEROR).
5. The COUNT PALATINE of the RHINE. (The DUKE of BAVARIA).
6. The DUKE of SAXONY.
7. The MARGRAVE of BRANDENBURG. (The KING of PRUSSIA).
8. The DUKE of HANOVER. (The KING of GREAT BRITAIN, etc.).

had lapsed to the pre-existing Electorate of Bavaria in 1623. Bavaria itself lapsed in 1777, and the duality of the Wittelsbach representation was not re-established. Hanover obtained the dignity in 1692: while in the flurry during the death agony of The Empire all kinds of unnecessary states obtained the one coveted promotion—Salzburg, Wurttemberg, Baden, Regensburg—which inherited as it were the title from Mainz, and Hessen-Cassel. (25 Feb. 1803). In the last days of December 1805, Salzburg became extinct and its electoral dignity was transferred together with its sovereign (the ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany) to Wurtzburg.

The Knights of The Empire, although organized in three circles, of Franconia, of the Rhine, and of Swabia, had no official representation in the Diet: in like case were the Imperial Villages and the *Ganerbschaften* or Territories possessed in common by several families or corporations.

Such was the Holy Roman Empire toward the end of 1792, the last year of its territorial integrity. After this, the storms of the Revolution blew upon the ancient ship, driving it ashore, and breaking great masses off from it: and at last, when these had subsided, the captain preferred, in the face of a mutiny of half his crew, of his own accord to destroy the remainder, rather than to allow it to fall into the hands of pirates. The first blow was struck when the Bishopric of Basel was secularized and annexed to France, after a preliminary independent existence as the ephemeral Rauracian Republic, which endured for less than four months: 27 Nov. 1792—March, 1793.

Ensued the loss of the County of Salm, 2 March, 1793, and in April, 1795, Prussia made an independent peace¹ with France whereby the dominions of the king to the west of Rhine were ceded to the Republic. The Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel² did the same in August, and the Duke of

(1) Treaty of Basel. 5 Apr. 1795. (2) Treaty of Basel. 25 Aug. 1795.

Wurttemberg³ and the Elector of Baden followed suit in Aug. 1796.⁴

These Treaties reveal the abject state of impotence to which the unhappy Empire was reduced. Not only was it unable to defend its frontiers against the enemy (a fate which has befallen every state at one time or another) but it was powerless to prevent its own vassals from making separate arrangements with that enemy even to handing over territories which were integral parts of the Empire without the consent either of the Diet or the Kaiser—the Elect-Emperor however was compelled to legalize all these mutinous treaties by himself, first at Campo Formio in 1797⁵ and again signing away to France at Luneville⁶ all the Territory of The Holy Roman Empire which lay to the West of Rhine. By these Acts, the French Republic became legally invested with vast dominions, in all between twenty-four and twenty-five thousand square miles.

At the same time the Commanderries of the Sovereign Order of S. John and the Teutonic Order West of Rhine were confiscated by the Republic. The property of the latter body alone was worth 395,604 florins annually. In accordance with the terms of this treaty, The Elect-Emperor was to compensate Ercole III d'Este, who had been dispossessed of his ancestral Duchy of Modena, by making him Duke over the Austrian Breisgau. The Peace concluded, all the deprived Princes clamoured for compensation at the expense of Ecclesiastical lands, which were secularized (i. e. confiscated) and of the Imperial Free Cities. The Elect-Emperor therefore nominated a Reich deputation to decide the amount of compensation. It consisted of representatives of himself—in his electoral capacity as King of Bohemia—of Prussia, Mainz, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hessen-Kassel, and the Teutonic Order. It sat from 24 Aug.

(3) Treaty of Paris, 7 Aug. 1796. (4) Treaty of Paris, 22 Aug. 1796. (5) Treaty of Campo Formio, 17 Oct. 1797. (6) Treaty of Luneville. 9 Feb. 1801.

1802 till 25 Feb. 1803, when was published the famous but futile Reichsdeputationshauptschluss. Before it was in session, however, Prussia, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg openly despised the Empire by worshipping the rising sun of France, and making individual conventions with that power about the compensation to be received by them in Germany. They even acted upon these treaties to the extent of occupying the desired territory—Prussia 3 Aug, 1802: Bavaria 16 July 1802. To protect his possible interests, now in the hands of the Reichsdeputation, from the greed of the Wittelsbachs, the Emperor hastily occupied the city of Passau and the archbishopric of Salzburg. Hessen-Darmstadt of its own accord and initiative seized the Duchy of Westphalia belonging to the Archbishop-Elector of Coln. Just as the Treaty of Luneville regularized the independent actions of various powers so did the Reichsdeputationshauptschluss legalise the piracies and spoliations committed in the anarchic interval between the two. On 26 Dec. 1802 the Elect-Emperor made a convention with the Republic in accordance with which he ceded Ortenau to the Duke of Modena-Breisgau, and promised that the deposed Grand Duke of Tuscany should receive the greater part of the Bishopric of Eichstadt as well as any other compensation which might be allotted to him by the Reichsdeputation. The Emperor, advised of an earlier decision of that body, also announced that he would receive the Bishoprics of Brixen and Trent. The labours of the Reichsdeputation being concluded, its report was adopted by the Diet, and promulgated by the Elect-Emperor. (25 Feb. 1803).

By the new arrangements the votes in the electoral college were paralleled as follows:

The Elect-Emperor 4, Prussia 2, Great Britain 1, Denmark 1, Bavaria 4, Saxony 3, Wurtemberg 3, Baden, the two Hesses, and Modena Breisgau 2 each, the Elector of Regensburg and 26 others 1 each, which together with

the 4 curial votes of the Counts, made up the necessary total. But this new arrangement was never good at all, as the Empire ceased to exist before the Diet met again formally.

The drastic territorial changes which preluded the final disappearance of the Reich must be noticed. During the course of 1803-4, the territories of the Knights of The Empire were first eagerly mediatized, then grudgingly immediatized. Wurtemberg kept Adelmansfelden, forgetting to immediatize it again. The most deadly blow at the German Reich, however, was struck when Napoleon Bonaparte on May 18th, 1804, assumed the title of Emperor of the French. Hitherto all Imperial titles, no matter how remote or improbable the dominions or the claim, had been "of the Romans." This was a new departure—a new Imperial Race of conquerors had arisen; strong enough to stand on their own foundation of the Revolution, bold enough to invent a new title, or rather to revive the exact meaning of the word Imperator. Indeed for some years Bonaparte was truly Imperator in a Respublica, for his coins until 1808 bear the double legend NAPOLEON EMPEREUR upon the obverse and REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE upon the reverse. It was as if the classicism of the Directory influenced the last act of the Consulate to such an extent, that the Empire, founded to be an avowed but French continuation of that of Charlemagne, appeared rather as an exact copy of that of Augustus.⁴

Napoleon, although a great admirer of antiquity, did not style himself as he very well might have done—Holy Roman Emperor of the French Nation—a title which would have emphasized the Karolingian traditions far more admirably than any assumption of Bees as a badge. The Elect-Emperor Francis, afraid, lest at his death The Holy

⁴"Let titre d'Empereur fut donné au nouveau Prince a la place de celui de roi, pour marquer que la nation française réjetait l'ancien régime, et qu'elle relevait sur la base des principes de 89 l'empire de Charlemagne."

Hélie. "Les Constitutions de la France." p. 736.

Roman Empire might fall by election to the Bonapartes and leave the Hapsburgs merely Royal and Archducal, proclaimed himself 18 Aug. 1804, to be hereditary Emperor of Austria (Kaiser von Oesterreich), a title which the late Mr. Freeman could by no means stomach, but covered with learned abuse, forgetful that the Elect-Emperor could create *any* lay title and confer it on *any* man. At the beginning of Dec. 1805, Baden laid hands on the Principality, of Heitersheim and the rest of the territories of the Order of S. John within her reach, together with the available possessions of the Teutonic Order, and on the 26th of the same month the humiliating Treaty of Presburg further mutilated both the Holy Roman and the Austrian Empires.

A further blow was dealt at the tottering Empire by the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which Napoleon directed as Protector, and freely used as a recruiting ground alike for his armies and his finances. The three Decembrist seceders were the foundation of it, and to them were added the new Napoleonic Duchy of Berg (created for Murat his brother-in-law), and twelve states of the Empire—the Electorate of Regensburg, Hessen-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilberg, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Salm-Salm, Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg-Birstein, Lichtenstein, Aremberg, and Leyen. These also left the Empire on 12 July 1806, and in the same month Napoleon denied the political existence of that State. On 6 Aug. 1806 the Elect-Emperor Francis II issued a Reichsgutachten, sealed with the Great Imperial Seal, by which act he dissolved The Holy Roman Empire, divested himself of all titles and authority therefrom accruing, and released all princes and other feudatories thereof from their allegiance. And this was the end of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Book of Bruce

ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS OF
King Robert of Scotland

Being an Historical and Genealogical Survey of the Kingly and
Noble Scottish House of Bruce and a Full Account of
Its Principal Collateral Families. With Special
Reference to the Bruces of Clackmannan,
Culmalindie, Caithness, and the
Shetland Islands, and
Their American
Descendants

BY

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

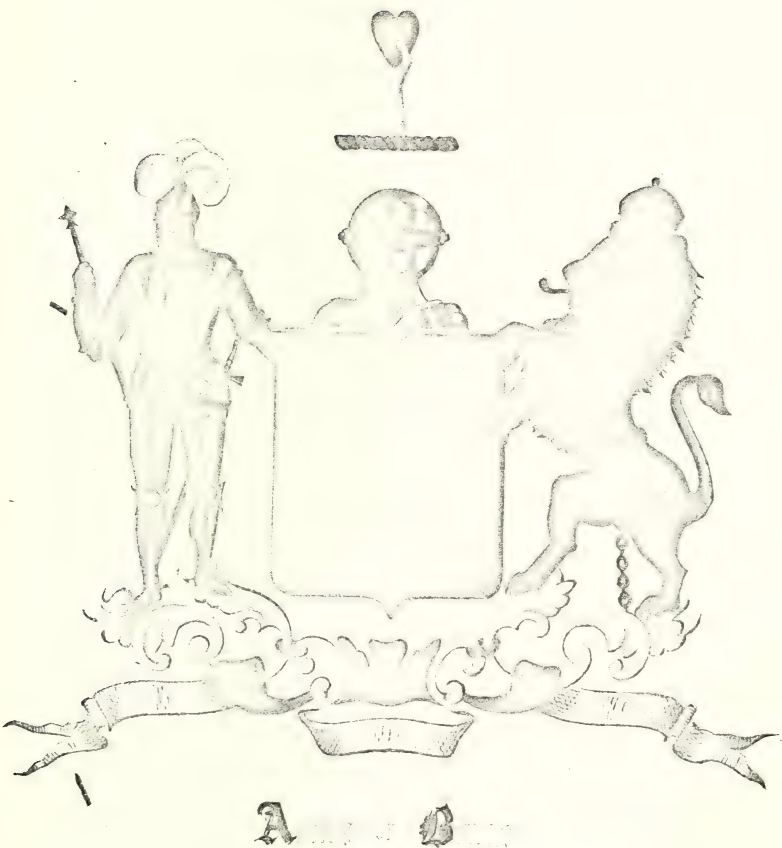
Author of "Prominent Families of New York"

Dedicated to the Memory of

George Bruce

whose genius contributed substantially to the
advancement in America of

“The Art Preservative of All Arts”



BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL SURVEY

UPON the pages of Scottish history no name shines brighter than that of Bruce. The family has been a large part of all that is great and glorious in the achievements of its native land and has contributed in no small measure to the ennobling activities of other countries. In war and in peace; in government and in diplomacy; in the church and in the world of letters; in the broad field of industrial effort; its representatives have ever been conspicuous and pre-eminently successful. In popular estimation the name belongs particularly to the period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which was crowded with events that changed forever the destiny of the Kingdom of the North. Then the great heads of this house in successive generations were brilliantly and patriotically identified with the development of their country into a nation of power and its achievement of independence from English misrule. But before that time the Bruces had been famous and powerful; and in the subsequent centuries, in all walks of life, they have been worthy of their antecedents.

Students of history know that the Bruce stock gave to Scotland its last and greatest dynasty; that, ever since, it has transmitted its Scottish blood to the ruling families of Great Britain and that it has been allied to other royal

houses of the old world. Antiquarian research shows that the family, centuries before its more modern appearance in Scotland, had a record that harks back to the dawn of history, and even into the mists of tradition and mythology.

In considering this family genealogically and historically, King Robert Bruce—THE BRUCE as Scottish history designates him—takes his place as the central figure of such a survey. That great and beloved monarch was descended in direct male line from the most powerful Saxon and Danish lords of the early years of the Christian era and he gave that splendid heritage to the many modern families that bear the name in England, Scotland, Europe, and America.

Originally of Scandinavian origin the line is traced through the dominant lords, princes, and nobles of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and by frequent matrimonial alliances, to the ruling families of Germany, Russia, and other principalities. The heads of the house in successive generations in that period were among the strong men of Denmark and Norway. They were vikings of the North and played their parts well in that heroic age when they and their countrymen were masters of the seas; overran the islands and the mainlands of that portion of the world; subjugated the rude peoples of Northern Europe, and laid the substantial foundations of consolidated government upon which has been built the structure of modern nationality. Some of them sailed across the stormy waters to Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides, taking possession of those islands and becoming rulers of the people already there. They even made incursions to the northern mainland of Scotland and from time to time held sway there, little dreaming that four hundred or more years later their greater descendants were to come again and hold that kingdom. Volumes might be written about the lives and adventures of these viking ancestors of the Bruces. Their names

gleam in the red light of the old sagas; their achievements are related in the Latin annals of the ancient historians, in the records of the northern kingdoms, and in popular traditions. On the following pages the line has been genealogically traced, generation by generation, to early in of the eighth century.

Nor is the story of the first Bruces limited to their Northland careers and associations. As will be seen presently, Einar, Jarl or Earl of Orkney, from whom the Bruces descended in direct male line, was a brother of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy. This allied the Bruces to the great ducal house of Normandy, and to William the Conqueror, of a later generation. Not alone that, but the alliances of the dukes of Normandy with the kings of France, Spain, and Germany, and with other princely houses of Europe is well known and this Bruce connection forms another striking page in the family history.

Still pursuing investigation into the records of the early centuries, it will be found that the Bruce forbears married into the royal family of Scotland several hundred years before their names became indelibly stamped upon the pages of Scottish history. Sigurd the seventh Earl of Orkney married Olith or Alice, daughter of Malcolm II., King of Scotland. He was the ancestor in the fourth generation in direct male line, of the Bruces who came into Scotland from Normandy by way of England at the time of the conquest and was in the ninth generation from the Robert Bruce who married Isabel of Huntingdon, also a descendant of Malcolm II. Thus the modern Bruces trace to the ancient royal house of Scotland through two lines of descent.

An examination of the annals of the Scottish kings is of absorbing interest and reveals a wealth of rich genealogical and historical lore. As set down in the records, Malcolm III. (Malcolm Canmore or Great-head) great-great-grandfather of Isabel of Huntingdon, wife of Robert Bruce, was

the eighty-sixth king of Scotland.¹ The record goes back through Malcolm, Kenneth, Donal, and Constantin to Kenneth—son of Alpin—who united the Picts and Scots and became king of the two nations or tribes, 843-59. Beyond this Kenneth the line extends through many heroic predecessors whose deeds are matters of record, to Fergus and Eocha, who are generally regarded as the first of the long royal line and who ruled before the beginning of the sixth century. Beyond Fergus and Eocha we come to the famous Irish kings from whom the Scots were derived and whose origin has been traced by antiquarians through Spain, Phenicia, and Egypt to Judea and Babylon. Into such a far-away period of ancient history the pursuit of the ancestry of the first Scottish kings, ancestors of the Bruces, leads through mazes of tradition, myth, secular and sacred history, and monumental records.

Before the close of the eleventh century representatives of the Bruce stock in the principal male line moved from the islands of Orkney and Shetland back to the mainland of Europe whence their ancestors had come. Again, they were influential and powerful in Norway and Denmark. One of their ancestors was the father of Rollo, the future Duke of Normandy, and another of his sons was the head of the branch which produced the Bruces of Shetland and Orkney. When Rollo invaded France and took Normandy to himself, setting up his great dukedom, several Bruces went with him. In later generations marriages between these families brought them into more intimate association and gave to their descendants common blood relationships. Along with the other nobles who helped to conquer Normandy, in company with Rollo and the dukes who came after him, the Bruces were leaders in the warfares of the day and took large part in the directions of affairs at Court. They grew in numbers and power and the name figures conspicuously in the annals of the ancient dukedom.

¹"Caledonia" by George Chalmers, vol. 1, pages 278 and 461.



KING ROBERT THE BRUCE

STATUE STERLING

Relating to this period of the history of the family there is in an old "Statistical Account of Scotland" a copy of the genealogy of the Bruces which is very curious in its earlier part.

"Since we are to speak of the genealogy of that heroick prince, King Robert Bruce, take notice in the first place that this surname (whether corruptly pronounced for *Le Preux*, the Valiant, as in the old record, it is sometimes written *LeBreuse* or a tropical surname *DeBruit*, from a castle and town of that name in the Grisons country) hath originally from France where about the year 1145 lived Peter Bruce, famous for writing against the Romish errors of transubstantiation, whose followers by the Popish writers are styled *Petro Brusiarie*."

Transferring its habitat to England when William of Normandy conquered that country the stock gravitated gradually to the north where was the earlier home of its race on the Scottish Islands. There it took its final stand in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and became a dominant power in its new home. Ranking with the foremost and most distinguished noble houses then existing, the family exercised a wide and strong influence among both the earlier Scot inhabitants and its Norman emigrant compeers. In less than two centuries its representatives had attained a position that gave them royal rights and honors and within half a century more they had mounted to the throne.

The marriage of the fifth and sixth Robert Bruces into the royal family of Scotland early in the thirteenth century brought to the Anglo-Norman house the heritage of the Saxon Kings of England and the Emperors of Germany. The wife of Malcolm III. of Scotland was Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling and daughter of Edward the Outlaw. From this Margaret the line of ancestry runs through Alfred the Great and his ancestors. At the height of its fortunes and power no royal or noble house ranked higher than that of Bruce. Robert, the Bruce, as we have seen,

had in his veins the blood of the most powerful and the most ancient ruling families of Europe, and his children and grandchildren were joined in marriage to other noble and royal houses of England, Scotland, and Europe.

On the male line the Bruce stock produced two kings of Scotland, Robert I. and David II. his son. It also gave a king to Ireland, Edward I. On the female side it produced the luckless Stewart dynasty of Scotland and England. The marriage of Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce I. to Walter Fitz Alan, the High Steward of Scotland, was the foundation of the royal house of Stewart. The descendants of Robert Bruce in the Stewart dynasty maintained themselves first on the throne of Scotland and then on that of England for more than three hundred years. The succession on the Scottish throne was Robert II., Robert III., James I., James II., James III., James IV., James V., Mary (the unfortunate Queen of Scots), and James VI. On the death of Queen Elizabeth of England in 1603, James VI. of Scotland united the two crowns, becoming James I. of England. His dynastic successors in England were Charles I., Charles II., James II., Mary, consort of William of Orange; and Anne. From the Stewart line was also derived the Hanoverian dynasty through Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of James VI. of Scotland. Thus Bruce stock by female derivatives has held the thrones of Scotland and of England and directed the affairs of those two kingdoms, alone or united, to the present day.

Of lesser rank but not always of lesser power or distinction, the Bruce stock has included a Cardinal of Rome; Earls of Huntingdon, Carrick, Ross, Elgin, Kincardine, and Ailsbury; Viscounts Bruce; Barons of Gower, Brember, Brecknock, Abergavenny, Skelton, Annandale, Bruce, and Kinloss; Lord High Chancellors of Scotland; a Chief Justice of England; Archbishops, Bishops, Baronets, a Master of the Rolls, Judges, Privy Counsellors, Ambassadors, Envoys; Knights of the Garter, Bath, Saint Andrews, and

St. Michael; Princesses of Wales; Duchesses of Chandos, Rutland, and Richmond; Countesses of Atholl, Mar, Ross, Sutherland, Cardigan, Perth, Devonshire, Hertford, and Airlie; Baronesses Percy, Beauchamp, Maltravers, Sayes, Bothwell, Mortimer, Brechin, and Cardross.

A viking ancestor gave to the family the name Brusee or Brusi, that was later transformed into Brus and Bruce. He was of the eleventh century and it was his grandson who established the family name and fame firmly in the annals of Normandy. In the old writings and provincial nomenclature Brus, Bruse, Brwyse, Bruyce, Brutz, Broawse, Brois, and others appear to have been one name spelled differently. Drummond in his monumental work on British families¹ gives thirty-three forms of the name. Modern France still has Bruyce, Broix, and Breux, which probably borders of England and Scotland, the name has been corrupted, at least as it is spoken, into Browis and Brewis. In the *Fœdera Angliæ* the name of the great King of Scotland is uniformly given as de Brus, while it is The Brwyce in the manuscript copy of John Barbour's famous rhymed history of King Robert now in the Edinburgh Advocates Library.² Bruce has become the regular modern form.

¹"Histories of Noble British Families," by Henry Drummond.

²"Metrical Life and Acts of Robert Bruce," by John Barbour.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SILK INDUSTRY IN AMERICA

BY HENRY WHITTEMORE

I

SILK was used in Egypt 1750 years before Christ. In the year A. D. 552, two Persian makers are said to have brought the first silk worm eggs from China to Constantinople, for which they would have forfeited their lives had they been detected in the former country.

Said Lord Bacon, three centuries ago: "If before the innovation of Silk anyone should have said there was a certain way of making a certain Cloth for apparel and Household Furniture far exceeding that of Linen or Woollen, in Fineness, Strength, Gloss and Softness, Men would immediately have fallen to conjecture about some vegetable Silk, the finer Furs of Animals, or the Feathers and Down of Birds, without ever dreaming it should be procured in such Plenty for the anniversary Spinning of a small Worm, he would certainly have been laughed at as the projector of a new Spider Work." It was truly a remarkable discovery, and its antiquity and the peculiar fascination of their secrets about the manufacture of silk have led even the most zealous of antiquarians to expend much time and research in tracing the earliest history of this beautiful industry. Silk was used in Spain and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The word is referred to in two of the books of the Old Testament. "I clothed thee also with embroidered work, and shod thee with badger's skin and girded thee about with fine linen, and I covered thee with silk."

"Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver, and thy raiment was of fine linen, and *silk*, and embroidered work; thou didst eat of fine flour and honey and oil, and thou wast exceedingly beautiful, and thou didst prosper into a kingdom."—Ezekiel xvi., 10 and 13.

"She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple."—Book of Proverbs, xxxi., 22.

"The merchandise of gold, and silver and precious stones, and of pearls and fine linen, and purple, and *silk* and scarlet," etc.—Book of Revelations, xviii., 12.

The value set upon silk by the Romans as implied in Revelations xviii., 12, is noticed by Josephus, as well as by other classical writers.

From the discovery of America in 1492 to the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 various European nations were exploring the continent and making widely scattered settlements, the founders in each locality being influenced by different motives. In New Netherlands it was the spirit of commercial enterprise—trading with the Indians—that inspired them; in New England it was religious liberty and "the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians;" in Virginia and other parts of the South they were attracted by the mildness of the climate and the richness of the soil, and the three great industries which followed and which have added so much to the wealth of the country were the cultivation of tobacco, the planting of mulberry trees and the cultivation of silk, and finally the raising of cotton.

As early as May 17, 1620, a meeting of the London Company was called, at which many persons of the highest distinction joined the enterprise, and Sir Edward Sandys made "a long and handsome speech" on the affairs of the Colony. There was quite a discussion concerning the silk grass which grew in Virginia in great abundance. At this meeting the cultivation of mulberry trees and silk was strongly recommended, and the King, for the second time, furnished a quantity of silkworm seed from his own store.

Sir Edward Sandys stated that he had taken means to turn the attention of the colonists from tobacco to other more useful and necessary commodities. In 1623 the Legislature of Virginia ordered all settlers to plant mulberry trees, and in 1656 passed an act imposing a fine of twenty pounds of tobacco on every planter who should not have at least one mulberry tree to every acre of land. Premiums were offered for its encouragement, and it is said that Charles II. wore, at his coronation in 1651, a robe and hose of Virginia silk, the art of weaving having been introduced into England in 1620.

Williams, the author of a tract on Virginia, in 1650, labored to show the profits of silk and wine-growing. Two or three years later, Samuel Hartlib, an enterprising merchant of London, to whom Milton dedicated his *Treatise on Education*, published two works on the Virginia silk-worm. Governor Digges, of Virginia; Mr. John Ferrar and others, also did much to excite an interest in the subject among the planters; by instruction in the business, the distribution of silk-worm eggs, and by showing the great profits of the culture. Ferrar, in particular, pointed out a means of overcoming the gummy hardness of the Virginia cocoons by steeping them in a strong soap-boiler's liquor, instead of warm water, which sufficed with the European kinds. He also recommended the use of lettuce for feeding the worms. By a comparison of the profits it was shown that silk-worms would yield the planters, for about two months' labor a year, £60; while tobacco at 2d per pound, as it then sold, would return but £14 for the same amount of labor during nine months.

The offering of large bounties stimulated the silk culture during the next few years. In 1666 Major Walker, a member of the Virginia Assembly, had growing some *seventy thousand mulberry* trees. In that year the infant industry was considered so well under way that all acts for the encouragement of silk raising were repealed and the commis-

sioners were required to establish within two years, a loom and a weaver in each, in the Province, except Rappahannock, Northampton, Westmoreland and Stafford, which were allowed wherein to effect it. Each county was to bear the expense of its own establishment, and the erection of a private loom did not excuse the county. This law was repealed in 1684.

Governor Berkeley, in his answers to the Committee of Plantations, in 1671, states that "of late we have begun to raise silk, and so many mulberry trees are planted, that if we had skilful men from Naples or Sicily to teach us the art of making it, in less than half an age we should make as much silk in a year as England did yearly expend three-score years since."

The cultivation of the more useful articles for the manufacture of clothing, etc., engaged the attention of the colonists for the next few years to the neglect of the silk production, but in 1718 the "Company of the West" introduced the cultivation of silk, with that of indigo, into Louisiana and Georgia. Appropriations were made both by the British Parliament and by private persons, with a liberality seldom equaled, to convey thither distressed and deserving artisans and husbandmen from all parts of Europe. Under their patronage the most extensive and successful attempts in silk growing in colonial times were conducted in Georgia. Lands were granted to settlers upon condition that they planted ten Italian or white mulberry trees to every acre of land, and additional grants for extra quantities. As expressive of their leading design and the spirit of the undertaking, a public seal was adopted, having upon one side the appropriate motto, "*Non sibi sed allis*"—"Not for ourselves but for others"—with a representation of silk-worms engaged in their labors. Trees, seed and silk-worm eggs were liberally provided by the trustees. One or two professed silk-reelers from Piedmont and others from Italy were sent over to instruct in the management of the worms

and the winding of silk, who, after reeling some fine cocoons for the trustees' garden, became dissatisfied, destroyed the machinery, trees and eggs, and fled to Carolina. An Italian with his family was next engaged at a salary of £520 for six years, to take charge of a filature. The first product of the silk-worms, consisting of eight pounds of raw silk was taken to England in 1734 by Mr. Oglethorpe, and another lot the following year. It was organized by Sir Thomas Lombe, one of the proprietors of the famous silk-throwing mills erected at Derby in 1719, who so admired the quality that he exhibited it to Queen Caroline, by whose order it was woven into a dress pattern and afterward presented to her majesty, who, at the next levee, appeared in a full court dress of Georgia silk. Renewed attention was given to the business on the return of General Oglethorpe. The manuscript book of the trustees contains a charge, in 1738, "for making a rich brocade, and dyeing the silk from Georgia, £26." A parcel taken to London the next year was pronounced by an eminent silk weaver and silk merchant equal to any from Italy, and worth twenty shillings a pound. The Sulzbergers, who had settled at Ebenezer, on the Savannah River, co-operated zealously with the trustees, and erected and employed two reels with success. In 1749 bounties were offered by the trustees to every woman who should, within the year, become a proficient in reeling, and by their permission sheds for that purpose were erected and supplied with machines. The bounty was claimed by fourteen young women, who, the next year, were engaged at the filature. Over one thousand pounds of cocoons were raised, and so well reeled by them as to command in London a higher price than silk from any other country.

In 1749, Parliament passed an act for encouraging the silk manufacture in Georgia and Carolina, by admitting silk from those provinces free of duty, and in the following year the trustees of Georgia sent two commissioners to promote

the silk culture, who erected a public filature or silk-house in Savannah, to instruct in the management of private filatures. It began operations in May, 1751, and 6,300 pounds of cocoon were received at the filature that year, of which 2,000 were sent by the Germans at Ebenezer, and the remainder from Whitfield's Orphan House. The exports of raw silk from Georgia in 1759, and the three following years, amounted in value to £8,880. During the next eighteen years, according to the statement of the comptroller of customs at Savannah, 9,829 pounds, or an average of 540 pounds yearly, were exported. It is stated by some authorities that in 1759 no less than 10,000 pounds of raw silk were exported, which sold two or three shillings higher than other silk, but this large quantity is doubtful. At the filature there were delivered, in four years, the following quantities of cocoons, viz.: 1,050 pounds in 1757, 7,040 pounds in 1758, 10,000 pounds in 1759, and 15,000 pounds in 1760, which shows an increase in the business perhaps too encouraging while the Colony was in its infancy. The filature was burned on July 4, but was rebuilt the next year on a larger scale. Nearly 100,000 pounds of cocoons were received at the filature during the next eight years, much of which came from Ebenezer, the little Georgia settlement.

In 1762, the society established in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, offered premiums of three pence for every pound weight of cocoons raised in Georgia and South Carolina "of a hard, weighty and good substance, wherein one worm only has spun," two pence a pound for inferior qualities produced by a single worm, and one penny a pound for cocoons spun by two worms, the premiums to be awarded and paid by Mr. Ottolinghe, the superintendent of the silk culture in Georgia, on presentation at the filature in Savannah. These various measures secured considerable attention to the silk business. But just as it seemed about to be established on a permanent footing, an act of Parliament in 1766 reduced

the price which the government had been paying for cocoons from three shillings to 1s. 6d. a pound. This caused a decline in the production of silk from 20,000 cocoons in 1766 to 290 in 1770. In April, 1769, a parliamentary bounty was offered of £25 on every £100 worth of raw silk imported from the Colonies for seven years, £20 for the next seven years. "If this encouragement," M. Raynal observes, "produces such improvement as may be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton, and of olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the British Colonies." The silk culture was again partially revived, particularly by the Saltzburghers, who continued to send yearly to England several hundred pounds of raw silk, until the Revolution caused the business to be nearly abandoned. The last silk offered for sale in Georgia was in 1790.

The Colonists were, of course, unprepared for anything more than the production of the unwrought material, and it is probable that nothing more would have been allowed.

An eminent commercial writer, Joshua Gee, one of the earliest and strongest counsellors of the restrictive policy respecting the plantations, had distinctly suggested that as the Colonies "had never thrown or wove any silk as yet, that we have heard of, therefore if a law was made prohibiting the use of any throwing-mill of doubling or throstling silk with any machine whatever they would then send it to us raw." The exportation of machinery used in the silk manufacture was prohibited in 1774.

This was the policy pursued by the British Government in regard to every industry in her Colonies that was likely to come in competition with those of her own, and when the fires of the Revolution burst forth every one of her American Colonies had a special grievance.

Meanwhile, some progress had been made with silk raising in the other American Colonies. In 1755, Mrs. Pinckney, the mother of the Revolutionary generals of that name,

who had introduced the indigo and cotton plants into South Carolina, took to England a quantity of excellent silk, raised and spun by her near Charleston, sufficient to make three silk dresses.

In the Colony of Connecticut the silk culture early became an important industry. It had been produced, and was the subject of legislators, as early as 1732. In 1747, Governor Law wore the first coat and stockings made of New England silk, and in 1750 his daughters wore the first silk dress of domestic material. The establishment of the silk culture as a permanent industry in Connecticut is chiefly due to the exertions of President Styles, of Yale College, and Dr. Nathaniel Aspinwall, of Mansfield. The former commenced his experiments in 1758 by planting three mulberry trees. His experiments extended over a period of nearly forty years, during which he liberally distributed seeds, trees and judicious advice. About the year 1760, Mr. Aspinwall commenced the breeding of silk-worms in Mansfield, Conn., by the introduction of the white mulberry tree from Long Island, where he had a nursery. He planted a large mulberry orchard at Mansfield and another at New Haven. According to the *New London Gazette*, of 1768, Mr. William Hanks, of Mansfield, raised sufficient silk the year previous for three silk dress patterns. He offered for sale 3,000 mulberry trees, which would "be sold cheap for the speedy promotion of the culture of silk." Rev. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, in an *Essay on Silk Growing*, in 1769, said he could make a yard of silk as cheap as he could a yard of linen cloth of eight run to the pound, and that it was then considered "more profitable than any other business." Dr. Stiles states that silk was raised in Newport, R. I., as early as 1758.

The Colony of Massachusetts also began the silk culture about the same time. Ames's *Almanac* for 1769 states that a gentleman, "whom posterity will bless," placed in the hands of the Selectmen of Boston \$100, to be distributed in

sums of forty, thirty, twenty and ten dollars to the persons who, in 1771, should have raised, severally, the largest lots of mulberry trees in Massachusetts. The General Council of the Province, in 1770, in answer to the petition of William Moleneau, of Boston, for aid to carry out a plan for employing the poor in spinning and for dyeing and manufacturing raw silk, granted to him for a term of seven years, rent free, a lease of the provincial manufactory for the manufacture of silk. The petition states that the raising and manufacturing of raw silk was an object on which he had expended between £1,100 and £1,200, chiefly in fixed apparatus in the province factory house. He engaged to purchase, at a reasonable price, all the raw silk raised in the province, and to cause it to be manufactured, or as much of it as he could find hands to manufacture. Fine samples of sewing silk were also made in parts of Massachusetts, notably in Worcester County. The town of Ipswich, which had for some time carried on the manufacture of silk and thread lace, produced the same year (1790) forty thousand yards of lace.

Pennsylvania was another province that made earnest efforts to promote the silk industry. A dispatch of Governor Patrick Gordon, of Pennsylvania, to the Lords of Trade, in 1734, mentions that it was the whole study of the merchants how to make returns for the large importations of British manufactures, and recommends the encouragement of naval stores, hemp, flax and silk, of which last, he says, there was a distant prospect of some advances toward silk manufacture, and some among them had shown how practicable a design of that kind was, by making some small quantities equal to French or Italian. A London paper of February 7, 1765, states that within four days one hundred journeymen silk throwsters had engaged themselves for New York and Philadelphia, upon extraordinary encouragements, intending at both places to establish the manufacture of silk. In the following year the society, upon the

recommendation of Benjamin Franklin, set on foot a subscription, by which a filature of raw silk was established in Philadelphia under the management of a skilful and intelligent Frenchman. Franklin also sent a copy of the work of Sauvage on the rearing of silk-worms, which furnished valuable aid. A committee drew up a plan and an address to the General Court, asking public encouragement and power to grant premiums to the amount of £500 yearly. Subscriptions in sums from two to fifteen pounds, and headed by Governor John Penn, were raised the first year to the amount of nearly £900 for the purchase of cocoons and the building of the reeling establishment. Silk-worm eggs and mulberry trees were imported, and a digest of instruction compiled, published and distributed. The filature was opened in June, 1759, on Seventh Street, between Arch and Market Streets. In 1771 there were brought to be reeled and purchased by the managers, 2,300 pounds of cocoons, between June 25th and August 13th. They were from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, in all of which silk-growing was followed with spirit. Many individuals in those Colonies were quite successful in producing silk. Susan Wright, an intelligent Quakeress of much note in the borough of Columbia, in Lancaster County, in 1770, received a premium for a piece of mantua, sixty yards in length, made from cocoons of her own raising, and from which a court dress for the Queen of Great Britain was made. Samples of this were deposited with the Philadelphia Library Company by Mr. Watson. The London merchants suggested greater care in assorting the silk, a neglect of which was complained of in all silk from America.

The colonists of New Jersey were successful in silk-growing, and the New Jersey Assembly, in 1765, acting upon the recommendation of Governor William Franklin, granted bounties on hemp and flax and for the planting of mulberry trees.

After the Revolution, which suspended the business and

extinguished it in most places, silk raising was resumed with some spirit in Connecticut, and through the zeal of Messrs. Styles and Aspinwall an act of the Assembly was obtained in 1783, and another the following year, granting a bounty of ten shillings for every hundred white mulberry trees planted during ten years, and three pence an ounce for raw silk. In 1788, Thomas Barrens and thirty-one others were incorporated as a company to manufacture silk cloth in the State. President Styles that year appeared at the commencement at Yale in a gown woven by Connecticut women. The silk was usually made into stockings, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and sewing silk worth one dollar an ounce and yielding large profits. About fifty families were engaged in the business at New Haven in 1790.

In 1788 thirty-two persons of Mansfield petitioned the Legislature to be incorporated for the manufacture of silk. About that time three-fourths of the families in Mansfield were engaged in raising silk, making annually from five to ten, twenty and fifty pounds in a family, and some as much as one hundred pounds in a season. It was thought that three or four tons were made annually in the town and vicinity. Dr. Aspinwall stimulated the production in Mansfield in 1800, as he had already done on Long Island and in New Haven. At that time the product of the silk-worm was not far from 390 pounds of raw silk. In 1830 it amounted to 3,200 pounds. In 1850 the amount produced was 25,000 pounds, and its value was probably from \$5 to \$8 a pound, mostly from the labor of women and children. Mulberry orchards were as extensive in the town as apple orchards. The sides of the highways and borders of the fields were abundantly ornamented with mulberry trees. But about that period, either from a severe winter or some disease, the trees began to die, and whole orchards went to decay in a single year. Now those flourishing mulberry trees, once so numerous, have nearly all disappeared.

The first silk reeled from the cocoons was the work of the

wife of the Rev. Mr. Martin, who had been in France and had seen the operation in that country. Every farmer raised his own mulberry trees, and his wife and daughters fed the silk-worms and spun the silk. This industry gave distinction to the town.

The introduction of machinery run by water power for spinning silk made a revolution in domestic silk manufacture. The first experiments in this were made by Rodney Hanks and his nephew, Horton Hanks, in 1810, with machinery invented and made by their own hands. They began to spin silk by water power before a silk factory was built.

Niles Register, under date of Dec. 4, 1819, has the following: "*Sewing Silk*. At the cattle show and display of manufactures in Cayuga County, N. Y., Samuel Chedsey, of Scipio, received a premium for the best pound of sewing silk of various colors pronounced to be equal to imported. 'We believe,' says the *Cayuga Republican*, 'this to be the most successful attempt to propagate the silk worm in our country, and it is evident from the experience of our esteemed member Samuel Chedsey, that the white mulberry and silk worm thrive well in our country.' "

"In 1830," says Barbour, "there were two small silk factories established in the town by an English manufacturer, with swifts for winding hand silk, thirty-two spindles for doubling, seven dozen spindles for throwing, thirty-two spindles for soft silk winding, twelve hand and one forming silk loom."

(To be Continued.)

AN OLD STREET OF NEW YORK.

BY JAMES V. ENTON

BY the reconstruction of the celebrated Fraunces Tavern in New York, where General Washington took leave of his army in 1783, and the taking formal possession of that property by the Sons of the Revolution, in December of the current year public attention has been again called to one of the famous streets of old New York, where this tavern was a distinguished resort in its early days.

In the last century, Pearl street, not then as long as now, was the great thoroughfare of New York. Upon it were displayed the merceries and the fine wares of Britain and France; here the great men of the town lived; the Chamber of Commerce, the Assembly, the great dancing parties, found it necessary to come together in its halls, and upon it the troops turned out for a parade. When the Revolutionary War was over the American army marched down through Queen street to Wall street and Broadway to the Battery. It was the chief seat of the dry goods industry until 1850, and since then has been the centre of many trades.

In a list of the streets of New York made by the Reverend Henricus Selyns in 1686, the earliest street directory we know of, few thoroughfares are given under their present appellations, while the total number amounts to no more than eighteen. King street, now Pine, is the one furthest to the north, Pearl street and its continuations the eastern limit, and Broadway the roadway most to the west. In the beginning it was necessary to be near the fort for protection, and besides it was the custom at that time, not only

in Holland, but elsewhere in Europe, to make their cities and villages compact. The present style of laying out a town with wide streets and detached houses owes its origin to America, where it has received its fullest development. The city grew slowly. It was long before population leaped from King street to Beekman street, and it was not till after the Revolution that the region beyond the present City Hall was occupied, except by squatters or humble cottagers. There were a few great mansions, but boys in 1800 went birdsnesting below Grand street, and fished where the Tombs prison is now located.

Among the streets of the earlier town Pearl street stood easily chief. It was the first laid out, and the passages which touched it were added very slowly. Thus Dock street, Hanover square, Queen street and Magazine street were joined together, one after the other, until finally the progress of the thoroughfare was stopped by the great hospital on Broadway, through which a road must not be cut, as Pine street was prevented from extending itself much later by the tomb of the victims of the prisonships in the Wallabout. During much of the time Pearl street was the focus of fashion; and then successively was the centre of the fashionable retail shops and the headquarters of the dry goods, hardware and publishing interests, and it is now that of the dealers in coffee, sugar and cotton. It is nowhere straight, and block after block joins on irregularly, as if at one time it had determined to stop just there. Upon it are the structures reared by great merchants and bankers, whose wealth is known over the whole globe, while on the same street are the haunts of vice, poverty, squalor and degradation. Wall street and Park street both cross it.

The trade of New York at an early day was in flour, furs, skins, fish and provisions to the West Indies and to Europe. Being bulky commodities, it was necessary to avoid cartage as far as possible. The vessels, which were very small

ones, according to present ideas, carrying no more than sixty or eighty tons, could come very close to the shore, which, on the east side, is steep enough to give deep water to ships, and, consequently, all warehouses were as near as possible to the shore. We know that there were many houses here at an early period, but we do not know where they were. It is recorded that the first wharf in the city was built by Daniel Litschoe, tavern keeper, on the Strand. It was near the foot of Broad street. In 1636 that part east of Broad street was called Hoogh straat or High street. Shortly after the British conquest a census or enumeration of the inhabitants was taken. They were, in 1665, the following:

Parel straat—Pieter Wolferzen Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Jansen Vanderveer, Jaques Cousseau, Pieter Aldricks, Tomas Conineck, Hendrick Bas, Gerrit Van Tright, Pieter Cornelisen, Class Bordingh, Jan Gerrizen Van Buytenhuysen, Wil. Kock, Esterne Guineau, Waldwyn Wanderveer, Tomas Franzen Karreman, Jurrien Blanck, M. Tybout, Pieter Jacobzen Marius, Tomas Lamberzen, Tomas Laurens.

De Hoogh straat—Annekin Litseo, Jan Laurens, Andries Joghimzen, Abraham Lubberzen, Remont Remontzen, Govert Loockermans, Joannes Van Bruggh, Warnae Wassells, Dirk Jansen Vandeventer, Jeremias Jansen Haydnaar, Abraham Clock, Isaac Bedlo, Evert Duychingh, Stoffel Hooglant, Abiggel Verblanck, David Jochimsen, Assar Levy, Barent Cours, Arien Huyberzen, Wessel Evergen, Arent Isaaczen, Cornelis Janzen, Cornelis Jansen Plagvier, Cors Jansen, Hendrick Asueris, Joannes Nevins, Pieter Jansen Schol, Nicolaes de Meyer, Hugu Barenzen Clem, Walraven Clearhout, Freick Hendryckzen, Alex. Stultke, Lybout Clazen, Arien Van Laar, Alder Conineck, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Joannes Van Couwenhoven, Lambert Barenzen, Hendrick Vandewater, Lawrens Vanderspygel, Walter

Salter. The list appears to be very faulty in spelling. Esterne, for instance is probably Estienne.

Turning back to the census of the inhabitants in 1686 we find Pearl street, thus called by the Dutch, although spelled Parel, was the block between State and Whitehall streets. State street was only a waste bit of land, not yet dignified with a name, beyond the fort, and probably almost covered with water at high tide. Two hundred years ago there were no houses upon it. From this a narrow lane, narrower than Pearl street of to-day, ran to Whitehall street. A few houses were on this block, which they faced; at the ends of the lots there were no corresponding structures, but only little alleyways, for the fort was at the north and Leisler's half moon (a battery) at the south. Its continuation was called Lang de Strand (along the strand or beach). When this name was first given the houses were all on the west side or north side of the street, as it may with equal propriety be called, and this was its appellation from Whitehall street to Wall street. It was, however, about this time changed to Dock street.

The first block beyond Whitehall street led it to Broad street, and on the side nearest the sea there were in this neighborhood in 1695 a few houses. The total number of buildings in this street in 1686 were sixty-seven. Between the space, however, where Dock street approached nearest to Pearl was a wide place, similar to the levees in western cities, where wagons stood and goods were temporarily stored in the open air. It is now much narrower, and its western side is called Whitehall street, while its eastern side is Moore street. Upon the northernmost part stood the Old Produce Exchange, its site now being occupied by the United States military building. Two other blocks have been taken out of this open space, being divided from the plot just mentioned by Water street and Front street. Whitehall itself is wider at its termination than near the Bowling Green.

At Broad street there was in the earliest times a wet place to be crossed; later there was a little canal, which could be navigated by canoes. After population grew more dense it was filled up. Before this was completely done, a house was erected on the northeastern corner of Broad and Pearl streets, which is still standing, famous for the great gatherings that have been held there, and forever to be remembered as the scene of an eventful act of Washington's life. It was then Fraunces tavern, but has since had many appellations. This is the oldest house in the city. It was built by one of the De Lanceys about the year 1706, and was at first occupied for a residence. Afterwards it became a tavern, and as that and a boarding house it has been occupied for a century and a half. Two incidents are more marked in its existence than any others. The first is the establishment of the Chamber of Commerce in its Long Room in 1768, and the other is the leave taken of the officers of the American army by General Washington soon after the evacuation by the British. The Charter of the Chamber of Commerce was originally given by Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant Governor of this colony, and confirmed by King George III. Its meetings were to a great extent suspended during the Revolution, but began again under a charter from the State soon after the close of hostilities. It again ceased its meetings in 1810, but resumed them in 1817, and from that time on till the present has exerted a beneficent influence among the merchants of New York, and upon those of the rest of the globe.

When General Washington took leave of his army in 1783, he was but fifty-one years of age. He had left his home where he had every comfort, his broad acres supplying everything that was necessary for the convenience of man or the luxury of his table, to take command of an undisciplined army, drawn from a dozen different communities, whose temper he did not know and could not conjecture. They might refuse to fight, and their dissensions

might be so great that it would be impossible to form an army from them. His stake in money was greater than that of almost any other American, for with the exception of Stephen Girard, John Hancock, and Charles Carroll he was the richest man in the colonies, and if the feelings of resentment which held these provinces together at the beginning should be dissipated he could not find the safety that the more obscure could rely upon. With John Adams and Samuel Adams, he would be certain of receiving the extreme punishment for treason. Under these circumstances, he accepted the command of the American army. By his judgment and assiduous labors he made it an array of well-trained veterans, the victors of many a hard fought field.

The war was over; the enemy had departed, and the troops were disbanded. On the 4th of December, 1783, Washington met his officers in Fraunces tavern, each of them soon to return to their homes. The story has frequently been told, and will not be repeated here. It was an affecting meeting. He shook each of them by the hand and bade them farewell, thus closing a companionship and official association of many years. The room in which this happened, the house where he thus took leave, are still standing, and as they have been reconstructed the appearance of the building without and within is practically as it was at that time. Directly across the way is an old building, evidently dating from Revolutionary times. The fires which early ravaged the city did not attack this particular region, and the houses have consequently been preserved to us. Tradition says that Alexander Hamilton once had his law office here.

Sales of property in this neighborhood two hundred years ago show a surprising contrast to the transfers now made. A house and lot between Whitehall and State streets, about thirty feet by one hundred and ten, were sold in 1705 for \$875; the "Oude Kirk," on the north side of the

street, between Broad and Whitehall streets, and extending through to Bridge street, went for \$900 in 1682; two years after a house and lot between Whitehall and State streets, fifty feet by forty-five, was sold for \$375; a house and lot at the present junction of Pearl, Broad and Bridge streets, went for \$1,313 in 1699; in 1711 a house and lot on the north-east corner of Whitehall and Pearl streets, forty-three feet by twenty-four, was sold for \$120; in 1732 a lot on the south-east corner of Whitehall and Pearl streets, twenty-three feet by thirty-four, sold for \$390; the same year a lot on the east side of Whitehall street, next below Pearl street, twenty-two by thirty-six, was transferred for \$480; in 1757 a house and lot on the west side of Whitehall street, between Pearl and State streets, twenty-seven feet by eighty-one, having on the west the ground of Hendricks, on the south the ground once owned by Government Stuyvesant, and afterwards by Governor Dongan, on the east by Whitehall street and on the north by the house and lot once owned by Jacob Leisler, was sold for \$1,250.

The street, still called Dock, in early days wound its way along the shore, from which it was nowhere very distinct, up to Hanover square. This made two blocks, the lower one being divided from the other by Coenties alley. To make a short cut and to avoid the mud of the river side the wagoners passed directly through this block to Stone street, as it is now called. In the early history of New York there were places for loading and unloading at the foot of White street, Broad street, Smith street, now William, and Wall street, and at Coenties slip. The foot of Smith street was then, as now, known as Old slip, and the foot of Wall street was Coffee House slip, a name still recollected by our older citizens. Upon the corner of Coenties alley and Pearl street was the Stadt Huys of the Dutch. It was an antique looking structure of brick, brought from Holland, and faced the river. This was erected for the convenience of the public, as an inn, there having been no good provision for them

before. It was erected in 1643. Here the burgomasters and schepens met, and here the affairs of the city were debated over. This was also the site of an early school. The building lasted till 1699, when it had grown old and shaky, and was then sold by the corporation for \$2,300. A new City Hall was built immediately afterwards at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets, where the Sub-Treasury now is.

It appears that in 1695 the street was built upon as far as Maiden lane. Grants of land were made to John Theobald, Robert Sinklair, Peter Adolph, Miles Forster, Doctor Samuel Slotes, Coster Lideersen, Jr., and John Vanderspiegel, who lived along the side of a continuation running north, and this continuation was formally laid out on the 13th of October, 1694.

“Order’d yt upon his Excell the Gouvernour’s Nomination henceforth the street reaching from Burger’s Path to the further end of the Smith’s fly by Alderman Beekmans be called Queen street.”

At this time Hanover square had begun, although not shown on the map under that name. Indeed, it is probable it was not thus called until the accession of King George I, of the house of Hanover. Old slip came in here, forming the door or gate of William street, then Smith’s fly, although denominated on the map of that day as King’s street. Where the street widens out there was near the present location of the station of the elevated road, a building used as a slaughter house. On the shore, on the east side, was a long building or buildings; just below the slip there were some others, but at Coenties slip and above and below it the water touched the street. At Broad street there was a considerable space of ground, upon both sides, which had been rescued from the river, and beyond these plots again was a sea wall, designed for the protection of vessels. It is possible this was not really built, but shown on the map as an improvement which was contemplated.

In its earlier years the progress of Pearl street was stop-

ped by the wall erected across the north end of town, made of palisades. It was designed to exclude the Indians. It ran across from water to water, the two principal blockhouses being at the northwest corner of William and Pearl streets, and the other at the northeast corner of Broadway and Wall street. Two lesser guardhouses were at the rear end of the present Trinity churchyard and the other at the northeast corner of Pearl street and the water side. The land here was apparently wrested from the river. It was known as the fly blockhouse and half moon.

“All the land on the water side from the blockhouse to the hill next to Mr. Beekman’s was sold in lots in 1692. Those from the blockhouse (now Wall street) to the Green lane (now Maiden lane) were valued at twenty-five shillings per foot. From the Green lane to Mrs. Van Clyff’s, now John street, at eighteen shillings per foot. From Mrs. Van Cliff’s to Mr. Beekman’s for fifteen shillings a foot. In 1738 a lot extending from Pearl street to Cliff street, twenty-five feet by two hundred, was sold for \$200, and in 1745 the same lots brought \$375.”

After the Revolution Pearl street retained the prominence it had before the war. Queen street still held that name, but it was changed before many years.

The whole of the lower part of the island was once covered with burial places. It was not thought injurious to public health to have them in the midst of cities, and they were commonly found around all churches. But as these plots of ground were frequently very small, other places must be sought for to inter those who died after a church had been some years in existence. Thus the Jews, who had their synagogue on Mill street, were forced to bury on Oliver street. 1766 the authorities of the Dutch Reformed Church applied to the common council for a grant of ground for that purpose. The Garden street churchyard had become filled up in the seventy years which had elapsed since the building was erected, and more land was needed. This was granted to them. The plot given was

on the common adjacent to Mr. Cuyler's sugar house (the old Rhinelander sugar house). Twenty-eight lots were in this plot; twelve fronted northeasterly to Queen street, eight southeasterly on Rose street, and ten on William street. It does not, however, appear to have been extensively used as a cemetery, as the maps of the city show this plot was built on before 1800.

The year that the first New York City directory was published, 1786, we find that at the last house in the street, 111 Queen street, near the tea water pump, Gabriel Furman offered genteel boarding and lodging, very convenient for members of the senate and assembly, and others having business with them. His sign was that of the Free American. In its immediate vicinity, No. 100, there were waxworks on representation, giving the story of Bel and the Dragon, as large as life. Admittance from nine in the morning till nine at night. The price of admission was three shillings. This was Mrs. Wright's collection, and she had formerly lived in this house. She will be remembered as the maker of waxworks in London who supplied so much news of what was going on in English political circles to Dr. Franklin. She died not far from this time.

A little further down, at No. 81, was Jacob Astor, as he then entitled himself, or John Jacob Astor, as he is more generally known to us. He had been in America a couple of years only. In an advertisement of May 25th. of that year, he describes his place as two doors from the Friends' Meeting House. He had just imported from London an elegant assortment of musical instruments, such as piano fortes, spinnets, piano-forte guitars, guitars, hautboys, fifes, the best Roman violin strings, and all other kinds of strings, music books and papers and every other article in the musical line, which he would dispose of on very low terms for cash.

In 1789, when the first congress under the Constitution was held in New York, many of the members lived in Pearl street. Among the Senators who dwelt there were Caleb

Strong, of Massachusetts, at 15 Great Dock street; Jonathan Elmer and William Paterson, of New Jersey, at 48 and 51 Great Dock street; Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, at 39 Great Dock street, and Pierce Butler of South Carolina at 37 Great Dock street. Of the representatives Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, was at 15 Great Dock street; George Leonard, George Partridge and Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, at 15 Great Dock street; William Floyd, of New York, at No. 27 Queen street, and George Clymer and Thomas Fitzsimmons, of Pennsylvania, at Mr. Anderson's, in Pearl street.

From Chatham street the course of this great thoroughfare was westward, or nearly so. The ground was low, and it was not speedily built upon. On Lyne's map of 1728 it had not been begun. In Maerschalek's map of 1763 the low grounds are shown as beginning a block or two east of Chatham street, and Pearl street, to avoid them, skirted a little north of where it is now. West of Chatham street were tan yards, and beyond was the negroes' burial ground. This extended to Broadway. North of it was the Collect, and between the south arm of this pond and the main body was an island upon which there was a powder magazine. Over and by this was the Magazine street, probably impassable at most times, on account of the water, but ending in high grounds opposite the New York Hospital. After the demolition of that edifice and the sale of its land Thomas street was cut through to Hudson street. This still further prolongs this street, and with a slight jog it follows Duane street to the river.

The Corporation Manual for 1866 describes at some length the condition of the neighborhood where Pearl street crosses Park row (late Chatham street). Just south of Pearl was a considerable hill, known generally as Catemuts, but also called Freshwater Hill and Windmill Hill. The windmill was west of Chatham street, and a little north of Duane street. The earliest mention of this mill is found in a contract made by Jan De Witt, the miller with one

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND HIS ANCESTRY.

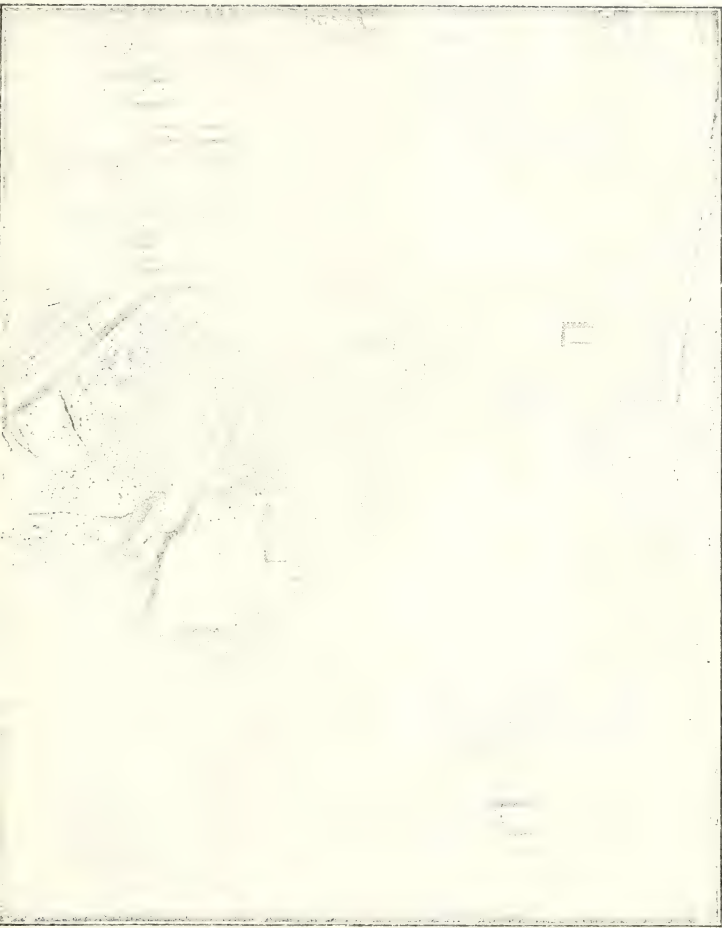
BY HENRY WHITEMORE.

THAT the Hamilton families, whether of England, Scotland or Ireland, have a common origin and derived from kings and from the nobility of France, Scotland and England, no one who reads its history can doubt; and it should be a matter of pride to all bearing the name that they sprang from the same source as General Alexander Hamilton, one of the founders of our Republic, the friend and adviser of Washington, the greatest statesman of his time, and the founder of American finance. The same blood that coursed through his veins flows through every descendant of the English and Scotch ancestors of this name.

The Hamilton line of descent through the nobility of France, England and Scotland can be traced direct for over a thousand years. In English annals the line begins with Robert, earl of Mellent, who was created earl of Leicester by King Henry I, and commanded the right wing of infantry at the battle of Hastings in 1118. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Magnus, earl of Vermandois, youngest son of King Henry of France, who was the son of Roger, surnamed de Bellemont, created earl of Warwick by William the Conqueror, in 1096. Roger de Bellemont was the son of Humphrey, surnamed De Vetules, a son of Turolphe, Lord Pontoudemar in Normandy, a son of Turfus, or Turlofus, who gave the name to the town of Tourville in Normandy, in 955, a son of Rollo or Rolf Ganger, the first duke of Normandy. Robert, earl of Mellent had

Robert de Bellemont surnamed Bossu who had

(558)



“THE GRANGE”

Home of General Alexander Hamilton. Showing the Thirteen Trees Representing the Original Thirteen States. Washington Heights, New York City.

Robert de Blouchemans, earl of Leicester in 1190, who had

Walter de Hamilton who took his name from the manor of Hambledon in Buckshire, where he was born. Upon this Sir Walter de Hamilton King Robert Bruce conferred the lands and Castle of Cadyow (now Hamilton), Lancashire, and other estates. He married Mary, daughter of Adam, Lord Gordon, and was the common ancestor of the Dukes de Hamilton, Dukes of Abercorn and other noble families. He had

John de Hamilton who had

Sir Archibald de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

James Hugh de Hamilton who had

James de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

Sir James de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

Sir Alexander de Hamilton who had

Andrew H. Hamilton who had

Alexander Hamilton who had

Alexander Hamilton who had

Alexander Hamilton who was the grandfather of General Alexander Hamilton.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, last named, was born at the Grange, the family seat in Ayrshire, Scotland. He married, about 1730, Elizabeth Pollock, the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Pollock, and had numerous issue.

JAMES HAMILTON, fourth son of Alexander and Elizabeth (Pollock) Hamilton, was born in Ayrshire, Scotland. He was bred a merchant and went to St. Christopher, West Indies, where though at first successful, he subsequently failed in business. He died at St. Vincent in 1779.

GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON, son of James Hamilton, was born on the island Nevis, January 11, 1757. On his mother's side he was of French descent, his maternal grandfather being a Huguenot named Faucille. Hamilton was the offspring of a second marriage. His mother died when he was young, and he was placed in charge of her relatives. He was much in the company of Dr. Knox, a Presbyterian minister to whom he was much attached, and the formation of his character was due in a great measure to this association. After a brief study of the elementary branches to which he devoted himself assiduously he entered a counting-house at Santa Cruz, being then but ten years of age. He soon won the confidence of his employer, who during a brief absence abroad gave the youth entire charge of his business, although he was then but fourteen years of age.

Hamilton continued his studies during his leisure hours and acquired a general knowledge of mathematics, chemistry, history and literature, his fondness for the latter being early developed. In the year 1772 an earthquake visited the island of St. Christopher's, and Hamilton wrote for the local paper an account of it, which attracted so much attention that his friends decided to provide the means for his more thorough education. He was sent to America and began a preparatory course at a grammar school in Elizabethtown, intending to enter Princeton with the intention of advancing from class to class as his proficiency in his studies might justify; but as this was contrary to the rules of Princeton he decided to enter King's College in New York, now Columbia University, where he made rapid advancement.

Becoming interested in the great public questions that agitated the American colonies, his sympathies were aroused, and he was soon known as an ardent patriot. In the summer of 1774 a public meeting was held in the suburbs of New York, and on this occasion Hamilton, then

only seventeen years of age, made his first great speech in favor of American liberties. His audience knew only that he was a student; he was very youthful looking but his hearers were impressed with his eloquence and convinced by his arguments. During the year the political excitement in New York as elsewhere in the colonies increased and became more and more intensified. Hamilton continued his studies, but was fully determined to take an active part in the struggle for independence when the time should arrive.

He contributed articles for the press and soon prepared and published a pamphlet with a long but appropriate title printed by James Livingston in 1774. This was soon followed by another, and public attention was at once directed to them on account of their fine literary style and the strong and forcible manner in which he presented the case of the American colonists. The letters were attributed to Governor Livingston, and also to John Jay, but when the public learned of the true authorship, Hamilton was recognized as an intellectual prodigy and was styled the "Vindicator of the Congress." In June 1775 he published another stirring pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Quebec Bill," an attack on the British ministry, which still further added to his fame as a writer and patriot.

From that time on he took an active part in the public meetings held in New York, and on the appeal from Congress to the colonies for military support he at once began the study of military tactics. In January 1776, the province of New York determined to add an artillery company to its service. Hamilton was recommended by his friend (later General) McDougall, and on March 14, 1776, he was appointed captain of the Provincial Company of Artillery and was directed to guard the records of the colony. He recruited his own men and with the remnant of the fund sent by his friends for his education equipped them at his own expense. He took part in the battle of Long Island,

1888

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serving under his friend General McDougall. In the retreat from New York City, in September, 1776, it is stated that "Alexander Hamilton with his company of New York artillery was eager to defend the post." He rendered important service during the retreat to Harlem, and it was at the battle of Harlem Heights, that he first attracted the observant eye of Washington.

The immediate result of Hamilton's introduction to Washington was the offer of a place on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, and in this position he displayed that rare ability as a writer and the remarkable military genius which characterized his whole army career. In the spring of 1777 he became aide-de-camp and private secretary to Washington with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He soon became a potent factor in all the military plans of his commander, and was consulted in regard to the campaigns and the several movements of the army. On all such matters the intelligence, sagacity and integrity that he displayed recommended him in the highest degree to the full confidence of Washington. Says one writer: "The pen of our army was held by Hamilton, and for dignity of manner, pith of matter and elegance of style, General Washington's letters were unrivalled in military annals." His position so rapidly increasing in influence, naturally brought him into contact and correspondence with the most prominent patriots in the country, who manifested great anxiety to obtain his advice and suggestions on all matters in which they were interested.

In battle Hamilton was dashing and aggressive. He was present and distinguished himself at the battle of Brandywine and also at Germantown. At the time when a faction headed by General Gates was opposing Washington, both openly and secretly, Hamilton proved of the greatest service. Being sent by Washington to Albany where Gates was encamped, he obtained a considerable portion of the latter's army for the reinforcement of the

main body encamped near Philadelphia, a very delicate duty under the circumstances, but in which he accomplished the purposes of the Commander-in-chief to his entire satisfaction. At Monmouth he so conducted himself as to receive from Washington, in a dispatch to Congress, the highest eulogium.

It was in 1780 that Hamilton first began to exhibit to his fellow countrymen the extraordinary financial ability which was subsequently to become the foundation stone of the economic structure of the government. The war between Great Britain and her American colonies had reached a point where it became simply a question of financial resources. At this juncture Hamilton anonymously brought forward his plan of the United States Bank, which was practically adopted, the main purpose of the institution being to furnish to the army a supply of provisions and ammunition. Soon after this came the treason of Arnold when Hamilton exerted his utmost efforts to save the unfortunate Major Andre from the sad fate which awaited him, but which could not be averted. Early in 1781, owing to a disagreement with Washington, he resigned his position as aide-de-camp, but continued in service, and took a prominent part in the siege of Yorktown.

Having given publicity to his views on the subject of the immediate financial necessities of the colonies, and the best way to meet them, Hamilton now turned his attention to the form of government which should take the place of the one under which the colonies had up to this time been living, and, as on other occasions, he prosecuted his task anonymously, in a series of masterly essays which first began to appear in July 1781. In these essays he considered the defects of the existing confederacy, recommended a strong centralized government and began to propound those views which afterwards made him the most distinguished of the federalists.

When the battle of Yorktown closed the long struggle

Hamilton was left free, and he accordingly withdrew from active service and settled in Albany where he began the study of law, soon mastering all its intricacies and being admitted to practice at the end of a few months. While prosecuting his law studies he prepared a "Memorial on the Practice of Law" which was acknowledged at the time to possess superior merit and which proved to be a valuable text-book for students, and became the groundwork of subsequent enlarged practical treatises.

Hamilton again became active in political affairs and was elected to congress in 1782. Washington in a letter to General Sullivan about this time said: "I can venture to advance from a more thorough knowledge of him that there are few men to be found at his age who have more general knowledge than he possesses, and none whose soul is more firmly engaged in the cause, or who exceeds him in probity or in sterling virtue." In congress Hamilton devoted himself mainly to financial subjects and to the purpose of establishing a permanent national revenue. But he was also thoroughly convinced that the abandonment of the existing confederation and the establishment in its place of a firm centralized government were essential to the future well being, if not the existence of the republic, and finding that he could do nothing in congress in regard to pressing this important question, he very gladly withdrew and resumed the practice of his profession.

About this time he wrote to Washington: "I have an indifferent opinion of the honesty of this country, and ill forbodings of its future system. Your excellency will perceive I have written with sensations of chagrin, and will make allowance for coloring, but the general picture is too true. God send us all more wisdom." It was the intention of Hamilton after retiring from congress to abandon political life and devote himself to his chosen profession. This he did for a time but in 1765 a ray of hope seemed to dawn when a convention was held in Annapolis, Md., and

he thought there was again an opportunity for improving the affairs of government. At this convention nothing especial was done except that Hamilton drew up an address to the people and as a result a new convention was called the following year. During the interim he started *The Federalist*, of whose papers he wrote the greater portion, practically furnishing the weapons for those who were inclined to think as he did on political subjects. Working incessantly on his theory of government he succeeded in procuring the adoption of the Constitution.

On the inauguration of Washington as President in 1789, it became at once obvious that the needed administrative department of the government was that of the treasury, when this was organized in the early autumn. Hamilton became the first secretary, and at once entered upon his duties with that zeal and earnestness which had always characterized him. One of his first acts was to make a report to congress concerning the financial situation, with the recommendation that certain state debts should be assumed by the federal government; that a loan should be opened to the full amount of the liabilities of the states and the general government; and that there should be an increase of duties on imported wines, spirits, tea and coffee, and a tax on home made spirits.

These proposals met with decided opposition in almost every part of the country. Hamilton, however, succeeded in obtaining a trial of his plans, which proved on execution to be completely successful as a financial policy. While in his position at the head of the treasury department, he was the chief adviser of Washington on all matters of public policy, and continued in consultation with him long after he retired from the treasuryship. Thus he furnished the president rough drafts and suggestions for many of his messages and speeches, besides taking a large share in the actual preparation of Washington's farewell address. He supported John Adams in 1796 although their relations

were not cordial, but through the influence of Washington he was made inspector general of the army. In this department of duty he displayed remarkable talent for organization and was recognized as a military genius. He did more to improve the condition of the army and establish it on a strong basis than any other man. The election of Jefferson as president widened the breach between Hamilton and the government. Jefferson was partial to France while all Hamilton's tendencies were toward England.

After the death of Washington, Hamilton settled in New York City and devoted himself wholly to his professional duties. He attained great distinction at the bar and was recognized as the foremost lawyer of his time. It was at this time that he determined to enjoy the peaceful quietness of a domestic life and provide himself a home for his family. He purchased a plot of ground on the upper part of Manhattan Island, overlooking the Hudson, on what is now known as Washington Heights, near the scene of his early military exploits at the beginning of the Revolution and within the lines of the entrenchments thrown up by the Americans in 1776. He named his new home the "Grange" after the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Scotland. The timber for the house is said to have been presented to him by General Schuyler, his father-in-law. To this beautiful home Hamilton removed with his family in the spring of 1802. He wrote to his friend Pinckney for some Carolina melon seed, saying: "A garden you know is a very usual refuge for disappointed politicians." He planted a group of thirteen gum trees a short distance from his house to symbolize the thirteen original States of the Union. Thus the memories of the beginning and ending of the War for Independence clustered around his beautiful home.

He enjoyed but two short years of this bliss and happiness which he had looked forward to. Although he had acquired a large practice in his profession, he could not

keep wholly aloof from politics. The federal party was practically crushed through the exceedingly unpopular administration of John Adams, but unfortunately for Hamilton's intention, he became involved in state politics through the candidacy of General Schuyler, his father-in-law, for the governorship. This, with other political conditions brought him into conflict with Aaron Burr, who was at this time in the height of his fame and in the fulness of his influence and his powers. The election of Jefferson as president and Burr as vice-president brought forth the question of the integrity of both, and, though Hamilton took no part in the accusations against Burr, his enemies did not cease to calumniate him and he was even charged with being engaged in a conspiracy to establish a monarchy on the ruins of the federal government.

In 1804 Burr was nominated for governor of the State of New York, and an exciting campaign followed. Hamilton opposed Burr by every means in his power, and his activity and influence did more to accomplish Burr's defeat than did the efforts of any of his opponents. They had been political rivals for years, but their personal relations were always courteous as became gentlemen. The incident that brought the fatal conflict and resulted in the death of Hamilton was a "trifling matter," but was fanned into a flame by the meddlesome gossip of others. It began with a remark of Dr. Charles D. Cooper, who remarked in a conversation that he "could detail a still more despised opinion of Mr. Burr." The statement was brought to the attention of Burr, who at once demanded an explanation, and in this Hamilton was involved.

Hamilton did everything in his power without sacrificing his honor to avoid a hostile meeting. Nevertheless, however, a challenge came from Burr. Judge Pendleton, who was named as Hamilton's second, used all his tact and diplomacy to reach an amiable settlement, but Burr was determined to rid himself of his political rival. As he

afterwards declared he intended to kill him. They met on the duelling field at Weehawken, where Hamilton's son, only a year previous had been killed in a duel. After measuring the distance and taking their positions, the word was given and both parties presented and fired in succession. Hamilton fell, his pistol being discharged almost involuntary as he had determined not to kill his adversary. He was taken to New York and died the next day. Probably no event in the history of our country ever aroused such universal indignation and awakened such sympathy from every part of the country as did the death of this great man. It had the effect, however of putting an end to the infamous code of duelling, at least in the northern states where it had long prevailed.

Hamilton is described as being of a small, lithe figure, active, and seemingly instinct with life. His erect military bearing and graceful presence impressed all who ever met him. He was of a bright and ruddy complexion, with light-colored hair; a mouth full of expression, and his eyes lustrous, with deep meaning and reflection, while his countenance showed frequent flashes of humor and pleasantry. He was a welcome guest and a cheery companion in every household. Even his enemies admitted the irresistible charm of his manner and conversation. Sometimes, though, it is said that moods of engrossing thought came upon him as he trod the crowded streets, when his pace would become slower, his head slightly bent downward, and as, with hands joined together behind, he wended his way through the crowd, his lips often moved in concert with the thoughts forming in his mind. In the eulogies that were published after his death, it was the consensus of opinion that he was the greatest statesman of the age in which he lived. One of his warmest admirers said of him:

"A friend who knew no guile; whose bosom was transparent and deep; in the bosom of whose heart was rooted every tender and sympathetic virtue; whose various worth

opposing parties acknowledged while alive, and on whose tomb they unite with equal sympathy and grief to heap their honors."

On the tombstone where he lies buried in Trinity church yard is the following inscription:

“The patriot of incorruptible integrity
The soldier of approved valor
The statesman of consummate wisdom
Whose talents and virtues will be remembered by
A gratified posterity
Long after this marble shall have mouldered into
dust.

He died July 12, 1804,, aged 47.”

During the encampment of Washington's army at Trenton, in the early part of the Revolution, Hamilton made the acquaintance of Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, a woman of superior intelligence and amiability of temper whom he married December 14, 1780.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTRACTOR

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THE following seventeenth century business circular was printed in London and sold by "John Bringhurst, at the Book in Grace-Church Street." It is dated August 9, 1682. This is from a copy preserved in the library of the British Museum. Prices were written in with pen and ink.

Proposals for Clearing Land
in Carolina, | East-Jersey,
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The	Greater Trees 12d	} per Tree
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But it is hereby Provided that unless the Persons concern'd in any one of the said Provinces shall subscribe for the number of Trees that grow in Ten Thousand Acres, (supposing 25 measureable Trees in an Acre) then the Undertaker shall not be obliged to perform these Proposals with any. But if the several Subscriptions shall amount near the said Sum, (provided the particular parcels are not too remote or small) then the Undertaker shall begin with Respect to the first Subscribers, and so in order, yet not de-

taining the last longer than Twelve Months before he begins with them, still keeping his Work going on with the first.

Nathan Somers,
and Partners.

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